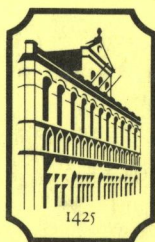


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Jozef IJSEWIJN
With G. Tournoy, D. Sacré, Line IJsewijn-Jacobs,
M. Verweij, and Monique Mund-Dopchie.

LITTERAE AD CRANEVELDIUM
BALDUINIANAE
A Preliminary Edition.

4. Letters 86-116
(November 1521-June 1522; April 1523; November 1528)

Edited by J. IJSEWIJN, D. SACRÉ, G. TOURNOY and M. VERWEIJ

Introductory Note.

This is the fourth and last instalment of unpublished letters to and from Cranevelt, which completes the series of letters edited in *HL* 41 (1992), 1-85 [letters 1-30], 42 (1993), 2-51 [letters 31-55] and 43 (1994), 15-68 [letters 56-85]. The edition is prepared according to the same principles as the 1992 publication. It is again the result of the close collaboration between the persons mentioned in the preface to the first edition. Moreover, a second grant of the National Bank of Belgium enabled us to engage again the cooperation of Dr. Michiel Verweij.

Mr. R. Truman (Oxford) offered us invaluable help not only by improving our English but also with useful suggestions concerning our notes to, and interpretation of the texts. We are grateful to Prof. Hubertus Schulte Herbrüggen for some useful suggestions and to the British-Flemish Academic Research Collaboration Programme which substantially facilitated the cooperation between Louvain and Oxford.

As soon as possible we will now proceed to the definitive edition of the whole collection in book form, to which will be added corrections and additions to De Vocht's *Litterae ad Craneveldium* of 1928.

Jozef IJsewijn.

Ep. 86. J. L. Vives (Louvain) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges).

89 (f. 112)

2 XI <1521>

This letter, bearing an exact date, was written by Vives's secretary and consequently corrected by Vives himself, who added the final sentence in his own hand.

The first part of the letter is about Thomas More. More has left Bruges and with him all pleasures have disappeared. Bruges is like an orphan. How can Cranevelt and his friends Laurinus, Fevynus and Eucollius bear the sight of the places where More has been? Luckily More has left an image of himself in the person of Clemens. This man is certainly John Clement, a former member of More's household and the tutor of his children. From 1520 onwards he devoted himself to medicine, partly in Louvain (although he cannot be found in the *Matricule de l'Université de Louvain*), where he stayed with Vives (cf. *Vives te Leuven* [Leuven, 1993], p. 16). This letter proves against *CE* I, p. 311 that Clement did not arrive at Louvain before Erasmus's departure for Basel on 28 October. Afterwards Clement practised medicine in England, until the reign of Edward VI, when he left for reasons of religion and settled in Louvain. He died July 1, 1571. (cf. *Lit. Cran.*, 154; *CE*, 1, p. 311-312).

Vives concludes this paragraph with his best wishes to More, who deserves every success, and with a remark on an epigram he apparently had written on him. In that epigram, he explains, he had written the name Morus as a pyrrhichius or a iambus, that is, with a short o, in order to escape the censure of an (unnamed) critic. But since More prefers his name to be read with a long o, Vives proposes a new version of the verse with the correct length. The whole affair is a little strange because, ever since Erasmus's well-known pun on More's name in his *Praise of Folly*, the connection with the Greek word μωρός (foolish) was common knowledge.

Next, Vives refers to his correspondence with Cranevelt. He has received from him two letters to which he had not yet written an answer, although he had apologised for not answering in another letter to which Cranevelt has not reacted so far. It seems that Cranevelt in his letters had submitted some problems or questions to Vives which the latter could not answer immediately and, therefore, Vives had sent (as he explains) an excuse before he might be accused of not caring for his friend. Vives hopes that his apology was acceptable, especially since there is no person in the world he likes better than Cranevelt.

The letter with excuses to which Vives is referring may be Ep. 85 (*HL* [1994], 65-68).

In the last part of the letter Vives discusses their common philological interests, first of all Greek ones. Cranevelt has Clemens with him, so he does not really need Vives. Cranevelt behaves badly towards Clemens if he thinks Clemens cannot assuage a longing for a thousand Viveses, when it comes to knowledge of Greek. Cranevelt is fortunate enough to have spare time to read Cicero's philosophical dialogues. Vives points out that Cicero's *De Universitate* (= *Timaeus*), a passage of which Cranevelt apparently has not understood, is a

translation by Cicero of Plato's *Timaeus* from §27d onwards. Therefore Cranevelt should rather consult Macrobius or Marsilius Ficinus than the busy Vives. As Vives mentions the fact that Cranevelt desired 'numeri' to be explained, he may be referring to Cic., *Tim.*, 23-24 = Plat., *Tim.* 35c-36c, passages commented upon by Macrobius, *Somn. Scip.*, 1, 6, 2-4 and Marsilius Ficinus, *In Platonem: In Timaeum commentarium*, 19 (*Opera omnia*, Basileae, 1576 = Torino 1989, pp. 1445-1446).

Greetings to all common friends (Laurinus, Fevynus, Eucollius, Clemens) and to Cranevelt's wife. In a postscript Vives commends his family in Bruges to Cranevelt's care and attention.

Vives Cranaveldio suo S<alutem>.

Ergo abiit in Britanniam Morus? Hoc est, lepores omnes, suavitates, amores, deliciae, gratiae? Quid Brugae ipsae? Non lugent his tantis bonis unius hominis discessu orbatae? Quid vos amici, tu, Fevinus, Laurinus, Eucollius¹? Potestis faciem ipsam intueri urbis, potestis ea loca, in quibus vos aliquando cum Moro fuisse meministis? Sed reliquit istic, ut audio, imaginem quandam ingenii sui: Claementem credo, ne nullum sit miserae urbi solatium et ut sensim deponat immodicum tanti viri desyderium.

[[ἀλλὰ]] σὺ δὲ ταῦτα ἐμοί ποιητικῶς τάχα νομίζεις λεκτέντα? Atqui scito me nihil verius expressiusque existimare, et putare haec omnia fieri a me² dicente minora vero; tantum abest ut verbis in maius augeam. Precor illi non iter modo, sed quaecumque inceptarit, prospera: dignus est enim maximis bonis, quae spero illum consecuturum.

De priore parte brevi sic feci dedita opera, ut omnino effugerem rabiem illius rixosi, qui ultimam litteram Graeci alphabeti admiscendam duxit nomini Latinissimo. Ita ego malui hunc esse bellacem pyrrhicum aut etiam acrem iambum, idque contra illum, quam spondaeum vel trochaeum³. Sed si Morus δίχρονον⁴ se in initio esse gaudet, mutetur sic ille ex epigrammate meo versiculus: "Sternet te Morus viribus eloquii".

Venio ad priorem tuam [[epla]] epistolam, hoc est non [[quae]] prius redditam, sed prius scriptam. Binas enim abs te accepi, quibus quod nondum responderim, excusavi epistola quadam mea ([[c]]) cui nondum (quod equidem sciam) respondisti), et dixi caussam antequam vel fierem reus vel committerem crimen, ut quandoquidem peccatum me sciebam,

¹ Eucollius: vide *ep.* 2 (*HL* 41[1992], 11-14 [p. 11]).

² "a me": corr. Vives supra lineam pro: "ante".

³ "trochaeum": corr. Vives pro "trhocaeum".

⁴ δίχρονον: in margine additum.

malui purgare me futuri peccati dum vacabat, quam ad id cogi occupatissimo tempore. Confido caussam tibi meam esse probatam. Si dixerō me quoque consuetudinis dulcissimae tuae desyderio propemodum intolerabili teneri, videbor forsā reddere mutuum, sed verissime certe dixerō. Atque ita me Christus bene amet, ut numquam videor mihi cum homine aliquo versatus, cuius consuetudinis etiam quam diutissimae minus me tenuerit sacietas quam tui. Usque adeo videris in hoc unum incumbere⁵, ut quo tractaris⁶ diutius, eo plus placeas magis⁷ gratiorque sis altissime perspectus et cognitus quam extrinsecus tantum spectatus. Et sum ipse alioqui “homo”, ut inquit ille in comoedia, “perpaucorum hominum”⁸ ac stomachi mire fastidientis.

Sed, quaeso te, Claementem istic habes et Vivem in Graecitate desyderas? Male profecto mereris de illo, quem non unum sexcentorum Vivium desyderium quantum ad Graecae linguae peritiam spectat, lenire posse credis, aut si credis, non profiteris. O te fortunatum⁹, cui ad evolvendos philosophicos Ciceronis dialogos vacet! Ecquid vidisti homine illo divinius? In *De Universitate* numeri¹⁰ illi nec apertiores nec reconditiores sunt Platonici, sed iidem ipsi. Libellus enim ille est pars Platonici *Timaei* versa a Cicerone ab illo loco: “Quid est¹¹ quod semper sit neque ullum habet ortum”¹². Itaque numeros explicari tibi a Macrobio potius vel [[a]] Marsilio petas quam a me homine tantopere negocioso.

Dices S<alutem> communibus amicis Laurino, Fevino, Eucollio, Claementi et optimae matronae uxori tuae. Vale, mi iucundissime Craneveldi.

Lovanii, IIII Nonas Novembres.

(add. *Vives propria manu*) Commendo tibi affines illas meas, si qua in re opera tua eguerint; quod accuratius non facio, qui scio tibi esse nos omnes commendatissimos.

Vives

A tergo: Domino Francisco Cranaveldio / iuris consultiss<imo>, amico meo / summo / Brugis.

⁵ “incumbere”: corr. pro “iincumbere” (?).

⁶ “tractaris”: corr. pro “tactaris”.

⁷ “magis”: add. Vives supra lineam.

⁸ “homo perpaucorum hominum”: cf. Ter., *Eun.*, 408-409.

⁹ “o te fortunatum”: cf. Cic., *Quinct.*, 80: “o hominem fortunatum”.

¹⁰ “numeri”: cf. Cic., *Att.* 7, 13b, 5: “est enim numero Platonis obscurius”; proverbial: cf. Erasmus, *Adagia* 2532 = III vi 32 (*ASD* II 6, p. 362).

¹¹ “quid est”: interposita lineola corr. Vives pro: “quidest”.

¹² “ortum”: corr. pro: “sortum”.

Ep. 87. J. L. Vives (Louvain) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

90 (f. 113)

4 XI 1521

A short letter in Vives's own hand repeating his request to Cranevelt to advise his relative in Bruges. The relative must be either Clara Cervent, widow of Bernardo Valdaura, who died in January 1521, or her mother; cf. *Ep.* 2 (*HL* 41[1992], 11-14, n. 8) and *Ep.* 38 (*HL* 42[1993], 20-24). Vives asks Cranevelt to help her as he would Vives himself. Their friendship ensures that there is nothing more to be added. Vives then refers to the previous letter which he had written two days earlier and which is a 'real' letter. Therefore, if Cranevelt does not count the present one as an official letter, he may consider it as a supplement.

S<alve>, mi Cranevel<di>. In medio tumultu occupationum mearum hec ad te scribo, solum quo¹ te precer, ut si qua in re affinis istic mea eguerit consilio tuo, consulas ei, ut mihi faceres. Amicitia nostra facit, ne quid maius videar mihi posse addere. Ea re nulla mihi poterit esse gratior. Vale multum. Nudius tertius ad te scripsi iustam epistolam. Si hanc [[v]] ne pro epistolio quidem numeras, putato auctarium esse superioris.

Lovanii pridie Nonas Novembres.

Tuus Vives.

A tergo: D<omino> Francisco Cranevel/dio Iurisconsulto, amico / omnium optimo./ Brugis.

Ep. 88. Leonardus Clodius (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges).

88 (f. 111)

<After 6 XI 1521>

This rather flattering letter from Clodius to his patron was written on a double sheet so as to look as beautiful as it reads. It contains a sequel to the matter of Clodius's nomination, so that its dating, although the letter bears no date, does not present any real difficulty.

The first part of the letter consists of extremely verbose praise of Cranevelt. If friendship can only exist between equals, Clodius cannot understand how Cranevelt is always treating him so kindly and without any possible recompense from Clodius's side, since the latter is of low birth, small scholarship and in every way Cranevelt's inferior. Cranevelt is, he continues, the oracle of Flanders,

¹ "quo": "u" supra lineam addita.

so that to be compared with him is as anomalous as the comparison of the night with the radiant Apollo (the Sun) himself. But enough of this: he returns to business, although he could fill deep abysses with Cranevelt's praise.

If Cranevelt does not arrange a meeting with Bertrandus (v. ep. 76 and 82) and try to persuade him, he might not hold to the agreement (concerning Clodius's nomination). That is the general opinion of all Clodius's supporters, Laurinus, Brydalus, Fevynus and a good many other members of the chapter. Furthermore, Cranevelt should insist upon the fact that the possession of the degree of Magister is not necessary for the fulfilment of this function, as Clodius's own schoolmaster proved, as well as the apostles and such learned princes of true religion as Jerome, Augustine and Ambrose, who never took a university degree. A title may increase the authority of fools but not their knowledge. Furthermore, the present schoolmaster, who has taken his degree, is now being rejected. Therefore Cranevelt is begged again to intercede on Clodius's behalf.

Apparently, Clodius who so far had not been appointed, did not complete studies at the university as seems to have been requisite in this office. However, he may have started: on 27 November 1514 a 'Leonardus Cloet de Brughis' was matriculated at Louvain (cfr. *Matricule de l'Université de Louvain*, 3 p. 501, n. 56). To identify this student with our Clodius is attractive, although this can not be proved.

In a few days Clodius will send his prologue to Plato's *Hipparchus*, which has been performed on the recent feast of St. Leonard (November 6) in honour of the three 'Leonardi', viz. Vandevalus, Eleopolus and Clodius. He asks Cranevelt to read it with a friendly eye.

Si amicitia nulla queat nisi inter pares subsistere firma, eosque egregie probos, sapientissime domine doctor, non video — nec possum vel Argi lumine multiplici¹ — qui fiat ut me tantopere ames, nempe qui neque corporeos molestos labores, neque vigiliarum, studiorum animique allubentissimas² opellas prodigus recusaveris unquam. Et tamen nihil est omnino, quo vel aspectu tanto beneficiorum cumulo respondeam, tantum abest ut effectu possim. Me quippe si tibi parem putes, humanitatis videlicet titulo, Parmesiam caudem³ cum sempiterno Iove rectius contuleris, nedum homuncionem. Generis enim tui illustris claritudo plebeiam nostram ita antecedit, annique iam longius praecurrunt humilitatem. Ita summorum reverentia graduum in te, abiectae sortis misellum me a

¹ "Argi lumine multiplici" proverbial from Antiquity; cf. Otto, *Römische Sprichwörter*, p. 37.

² "allubentissimam": "allubens" not in Antiquity; the form allubescens can be found in Apuleius.

³ "Parmesiam caudem": erroneously written for "Marpesiam caudem" (cf. Verg., *Aen.*, VI. 471).

[[deter]] tuo {me} merito seiungit amore, ut ne coelum sit istinc distantius. Tum quoque ad illam in te iuris peritiam ac ad utriusque linguae opulentas divitias quis hominum hac tempestate vel audeat aspirare? Propter quae rursus sic tecum sum conferendus velut noctis caliginosae tenebrae cum omnium rerum illustratore⁴ Phoebō. Consiliis preterea simul et prudentia vales ut merito huius seculi venerere nomodidactes⁵, addam Solon, imo et addam non Franciscus, non Craneveldius, sed is ipse a quo in Flandria ceu ab Apolline exaudiuntur oracula. Viden igitur, maxime vir, quam dissimilem praelegeris Oresten⁶, quam imparem Corydonam⁷ amare decrevisti, a quo tamen nihil unquam profectum est quod minimam amicitiae conciliet scintillulam. Sed mavis benigna⁸ quadam et prompta benignitate fovere quem tot nominibus totque titulis [[cominus]] quam longissime⁹ anteverteris, devictis unius humanitatis studio, quam in omnes Christianos // profundis meracissime.

Verum plura non hodie, quamquam et abyssos plurimas tuarum laudum copiosa multitudine possem explere, etiam profundissimas. Ceterum Bertrandus noster pacta non servaturus est aut tecum aut cum alio quovis, nisi tu, liberalissime patrone, hominem rursus convenias, qui nihil tibi aut negare possit aut negare certo non¹⁰ debet. Haec est omnium amicorum communis persuasio; ita decanus Laurinus hortabatur, haud aliter dominus Brydalus¹¹ archipresbyter, quem Christianitatis¹² decanum nostrates appellant; sic doctissimus consuluit Fevynus, et persuasit reliquorum bona pars canonicorum: ut si tu iubeas aut amanter horteris, mox ille parebit.

Addas etiam atque etiam gradus magistralis eclipsim neque omnino quicquam templo officere, neque praeterea necessariam, id quod in meo

⁴ "illustratore": since Lactantius, but rare.

⁵ "nomodidactes": not in antiquity in Latin form; the Greek word occurs e.g. in Plut., *Cat. m.*, 20.

⁶ "Oresten": Orestes and Pylades were proverbial friends; cf. Otto, *Römische Sprachwörter*, p. 258.

⁷ "Corydona": allusion to the figure of Corydon in Virgil (cf. Verg., *Buc.*, II, V, VII).

⁸ "benigna": first written "benignit".

⁹ "quam longissime" added above the line.

¹⁰ "non" added above the line.

¹¹ Brydalus: Nicolaus Breydel (1465-1523) was dean of the district of Bruges and canon of the fourteenth prebend in St. Donatian's (since 1500); cf. *Lit. Cran.*, 35, 7n.

¹² "Christianitatis" first written "chriatum" (?).

praeceptore¹³, secundo ante hunc Paschasium¹⁴ apud eos egregie (per Iovem) docto ludimagistro promoti (ut vocant), proinde atque Apostoli aut Hyeronimus, Augustinus, Ambrosius et id genus verae doctrinae proceres. Titulus enim auget et in stultis¹⁵ auctoritatem, scientiam vero non sic. At rursus non cuius¹⁶ homini contingit adire Chorynthum. Promotum magisteriique imagine insignitum habent modo, quem nunc reiiciunt. Quid in eo excusat promotionis dignitas, quin potius refellat magistralitas? Quare, Catonianissime domine doctor, tu solus asyllum; in te uno proiecta est extremae salutis anchora. Presta, precor, ne in mora periculum, auxilium et suspensum quodammodo salva. Futurum prope diem spero ut te tot honestatum titulis, tot modis victorem vermiculus ego ipse revincam, idque integerrimo promptissimoque animuli mei et affectu et officio.

Prologum nostrum¹⁷ utcumque in Platonis Hipparchum proxima divi Leonardi¹⁸ festivitate lusum in gratiam trium Leonardorum, utputa Vandevali¹⁹, Eleopoli²⁰ et demum Clodii ad te transmittemus non post multos dies. Eum dignare lectura amica.

Bene vale, maxime patrone. Ex aedibus nostris hodie. Tuus ut supra Leonar<du> Clo<diu> ex animo.

A tergo: Iureconsultissimo doctore et / Mecoenati amplissimo, domino / Francisco Craneveldio

a [[conso]] / consiliis Bruganis.

¹³ "meo praeceptore": this should be Petrus Oesterhout, who was appointed May 23, 1509 and who cannot be found in the Louvain registers. He was succeeded on March 17, 1512 by Gislenus de Brabander from Utrecht, who matriculated at Louvain in February 1505 (cf. *Matricule de l'Université de Louvain*, 3, p. 289, n. 221); cf. A. C. De Schrevel, *Histoire du Séminaire de Bruges*, 1 (Bruges, 1895), p. 222.

¹⁴ "Paschasium": Pasquier de Corte from the diocese of Thérouanne, appointed Feb. 9. 1516. On May 29. 1526, he became 'clericus sanctuarii'. His matriculation is unknown (or at least cannot be found under this name in Louvain); cf. A.C. De Schrevel, l. c.

¹⁵ "et in stultis" added in the left margin.

¹⁶ "non cuius": Hor., *Epist.*, 1, 17, 36.

¹⁷ "prologum nostrum": otherwise unknown text which may be a declamation. Another equally unknown work by Clodius is the school drama *Compendium Epicureae Theologiae* (cf. *Lit. Cran.*, 39).

¹⁸ "Leonardi" added in the left margin.

¹⁹ "Vandevali": cf. ep. 76.

²⁰ "Eleopoli": a Leonardus Heliopolus matriculated at Louvain on May 21, 1518 (cf. *Matricule de l'Université de Louvain*, 3, p. 585, n. 117). He is called a 'clericus Tornacensis', being originally from Bruges, then in the diocese of Tournai. He seems to have been somewhat older than most students.

Ep. 89. P. Curtius (Louvain) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

91 (f. 114)

20 XI <1521>

As Cranevelt's servant [Andreas; see letter 91] is leaving Louvain for Bruges, Petrus Curtius (cf. *ep.* 63: *HL* 43 [1994], 30-33) does not want to lose the opportunity of sending Cranevelt his regards. He has not enough time to write a long letter, but he wants to give Cranevelt a report of the actions taken against Luther and his followers.

A new papal legate has brought a new and more severe bull. When the Emperor Charles V perceived opposition against it among the local and regional authorities he sent for Nicolaus Baechem Egmondanus (the well-known adversary of Erasmus; cf. *CE*, 1, pp. 81-83 and *ep.* 22: *HL* 41[1992], 59-64), who eagerly accepted the task of finding out people suspected of heresy, whether male or female, and accordingly went to Antwerp, where many people suffered from that 'disease'. Egmondanus also consulted with Margaret of Austria (Regent of the Low Countries from 1517 till 1530, who certainly at the beginning took a rather neutral course in this matter; cf. *CE*, 2, pp. 388-389). In Antwerp Egmondanus has put on his black list, among others, a burgomaster, a clergyman and Petrus Aegidius (Gillis) and turned their names over to the Emperor. What is to become of them is uncertain, as Egmondanus has not yet returned from Oudenaarde in the South of Flanders. Rumour has it that he is after their wealth.

Since Charles V and Margaret were residing at Oudenaarde from 26 October to mid-December 1521 in connection with the war operations in Northern France, it is clear that Egmondanus had followed the court there. See J. de Jongh, *De Hertogin. Margaretha van Oostenrijk, hertogin van Savooie 1480-1530. Regentessen der Nederlanden*, 1 (Amsterdam 1981), p. 398.

Everything that Curtius has told Cranevelt is confidential. Greetings to his wife.

The new papal legate must be Aleander (cf. *CE*, 1, pp. 28-32) who after the promulgation of the Edict of Worms (May 26, 1521) went with the Emperor to the Low Countries. He will have brought with him the second bull against Luther, *Decet Romanorum*, promulgated by Leo X on January 3, 1521, after the first bull *Exsurge Domine*, published on June 17, 1520. One of Egmondanus's victims was Petrus Gillis or Aegidius, town secretary of Antwerp and friend of Thomas More (cf. *CE*, 2, pp. 99-101; the information given there, p. 100, on Gillis's house, is not correct. Gillis lived in the house *De Biekorf* in the Oude Veemarkt, now Eiermarkt. See *HL* 40 [1991], 475-476). In 1522 a rumour spread that he had been captured but it proved false (cf. Allen, *Ep.* 1293-1296-1318). From the present letter one can deduce the fact that Aegidius was under suspicion already by the end of 1521.

Secundam salutem.¹ Non potui non tuo familiari ad te dare literas, vir ornatissime, ne parum diligens videri possim, qui tanta occasione ne

¹ "secundam salutem": This rather uncommon greeting formula seems to be coined after expressions such as "res secunda", "secunda fortuna", "tempora secunda".

salutem quidem dicerem. Ceterum non patiebatur temporis angustia prolixae aut elaborate scribere; proinde has nostras perbreves et tumultuarias boni consules.

Videbar mihi non ingratam rem tibi facturum, si quae iterum adversus Lutherum fautoresque moliantur, de integro perscripsero. Ea sunt huiusmodi. Ad imperatorem brevi recens quidem et novus appulit legatus pontificius novam atrociorumque superiore afferens bullam. Qua permotus imperator, quibusdam ex nostratibus frigidam (quod aiunt) suffundentibus², Egmundum ad se accersere iubet (nam hic eiusmodi negotiis incendiariis quaestionariisque³ est aptissimus) datque negotium ut si quos invenisset huius Lutherianae viae viros aut mulieres, notatos ad se perferret. Is strenuus ac libens hoc capessens oneris Antverpiae se⁴ confert, ubi tum illustrissima Margarita agebat cepitque eo loco complures describere (nam illic aiunt homines hoc morbo vehementer laborare) notavitque inter ceteros unum e burgimagistris (quos vocant), alterum e curatoribus animarum, etiam, ut intellexi, Petrum Aegidium cum aliquot aliis, quorum nomina ad imperatorem detulit. Quid de hiis futurum sit, incertum. Nondum enim ex Aldenardo rediit Egmundanus. Interpretantur quidam illorum divitiis hac arrepta occasione insidias strui. Sed hec tibi secretisque amicis solis perscripsi.

Vale cum tua coniuge suavissima, cui commendari percipio.

Lovanii, 12 Calendas Decembreis.

Toto pectore tuus P<etrus> Curtius

A tergo: Insigni Iuris utriusque Doctori / Magistro Francisco Cra-neveldio / Oppidi Brugen<sis> pensionario primo./

Brugis.

² "frigidam suffundentibus": sc. aquam; cf. Plaut., *Cist.*, 38; Erasmus, *Adagia*, I x 51 = 951.

³ "quaestionariis": not used as an adjective in antiquity; cf. Niermeyer, *Lexicon medii aevi minus*, p. 878.

⁴ "se": in margine.

Ep. 90. Paulus de Mera (Louvain) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

92 (f. 115)

11 XI 1521

Another letter from the Louvain schoolboy Paulus de Mera, on whom see letter 77 (*HL* 43 [1994], 54-56). Its position in the bundle just after the letter of Paulus's teacher at Louvain, Petrus Curtius (dated 20 November), suggests that the two letters were sent together to Bruges exactly as the letters 77 and 78. In the inner space of the capital letter Q with which the letter begins the boy has drawn a little face.

Paul begins his letter by wondering why Cranevelt does not write more frequently. Has he forgotten his nephew? That seems impossible. Or has he fled from work? That seems also most unlikely for such a man as Cranevelt who never wastes his time in idleness. Perhaps he could not find someone to carry the letters to Louvain, although there is much coming and going between Louvain and Bruges. When Paul heard that Cranevelt's servant [Andreas; see letter 91] was in town, he did not rest until he had finished a letter to his uncle.

Paul first wants to describe the agitation caused in Louvain by the departure of the militia on November 2. This is an allusion to the departure of 200 infantry and 100 horsemen who left the town for Tournai, besieged by the army of Charles V. Cf. J. A. Torfs, *Geschiedenis van Leuven van den vroegsten tijd tot op heden* (Leuven, 1899), p. 225.

Next he sends his special regards together with a small gift to his favourite cousin Catharina, viz. Cranevelt's third daughter (1512-1572), who later entered Thabor convent in Mechlin (cf. *Lit. Cran.*, pp. LXII-LXIII; Paul mentions Catharina as well in *Lit. Cran.* 31, l. 41; and 34, l. 37). He hopes that she will accept this little present given by a poor boy and quotes on the subject verses of Baptista Mantuanus (Mantuan) and the *Disticha Catonis*, two elementary schoolbooks. (Both figured, for instance, as first authors in the programme of studies of the Gouda Latin school ca. 1520; cf. P.N.M. Bot, *Humanisme en Onderwijs in Nederland* (Utrecht-Antwerpen, 1955), pp. 143-144).

Paul then refers to a former letter, written on St. Calixtus Day (October 14), which seems to be lost (*ep.* 77 was delivered to Cranevelt on 3 October). He promises to write more often in the future. His next letter to be preserved dates from December 21, 1522 (cf. *Lit. Cran.*, 31).

Greetings from his family. He should like to see the letter written by Catharina.

[–] Paulus Meranus docto cumprimis viro Francisco Craneveldo, cognato suo suavissimo, S<alutem> P<lurimam> D<icit>.

Quid te remoratum est, cognate suavissime, quo minus me tuis lacesseris litteris? Oblitum te mei putem? Delectiorem¹ me tibi esse arbitror² quam

¹ Paul obviously meant "Dilectiorem", better loved.

² "arbitror": Paul originally started writing "abitor" but corrected himself immediately.

ut tam facile mei te caperet oblivio. An fugisse te laborem? Nec hoc quidem credere possum, tantilli laboris tedium³ cepisse te hominem, a quo nullum tempus (pulcherrimum immortalis Dei munus) aut ocio aut inhonestis studiis turpiter consumitur ac transigitur. An non fuisse qui perferrent? Nihilominus tam crebri⁴ enim eunt redeuntque quotidie hinc istuc, istinc huc cursantes, atque ut ne dicam tuum ipsius famulum secundis (ut aiunt) avibus⁵ huc appulisse. Denique quid memorem aut quid in causa vis esse credam?

Verum ego ubi intellexerim famulum adesse tuum, non conquievi, non defatigatus sum neque tantilli laboris me tedium cepit, quin tibi litteris mandarem hic ingentem belli apparatus fieri; nimirum milites nostri selecti ac destinati variisque bellicis armis probe instructi ac muniti secundo Novembris magno triumpho ingentique pompa exierunt, ita ut mihi scriptu tibi que creditu perdifficile fuerit.

Sed ego Katarinam, neptem meam dilectissimam, hoc meo xeniolo dono ac oro uti velit grata sumere manu⁶, licet sit parvum; nam ut vulgato Mantuani carmine utar: "Paupere de loculo xenia parva damus"⁷ et Catoni, obsecro, audito dicenti [[monendique]] monentique: "Exiguum munus quod dat tibi pauper amicus, grata sume manu"⁸.

Reor meas litteras ipso Chalixti conscriptas te accepisse atque ne graveris, queso, me crebrioribus visere litteris⁹. Quid enim mihi evenire¹⁰ potest aut gratius aut iucondius? Prorsus nihil. Quorsum enim littere conducunt et quid est earum¹¹ munus, nisi quod¹² ad parandam et alendam mutuam benevolentiam ac consuetudinem¹³ imprimis valent?

³ "tedium": here and in the next paragraph Paul wrote "taedium", then changed it into "tedium".

⁴ "crebri": ante corr.: "cerebri".

⁵ "secundis avibus": cf. Liv. VI, 12.9.

⁶ "grata sumere manu": based on the expression from *Catonis Disticha*. See note 8.

⁷ Bapt. Mant., *Ad Falconem libellus* 2.8: "Paupere de loculo vilia dona damus" (*Omnia Opera*, Bologna, 1502, f. 378^r). By changing "vilia" (cheap or poor [presents]) into "xenia" (gifts to a guest or a friend) Paulus introduced a metrical error. The "e" is short, but the metre demands a long syllable.

⁸ "Exiguum munus": cf. *Disticha Catonis*, 1, 20. Modern editions read the beginning of the second verse: "accipito laetus", but Erasmus in his edition reads: "accipite placide".

⁹ "litteris": ms. litteras.

¹⁰ "evenire": ms. evere.

¹¹ "earum": supra lineam, corr. pro: "epistolarum".

¹² "quod": supra lineam.

¹³ "consuetudinem": ante corr. "consuedudinem".

Uterque parens, una et preceptor et universa nostra familia plurima salute te uxoremque tuam liberosque tuos, omnem denique tuorum cetum impertit. Illam filie tue Katarine epistolam mihi abs te dari semel opto.

Vale [[tu]] tumultuarie ex aedibus paternis. Anno 1521 ipso Martini. Et me tibi totum dedico consecroque.

[[Paulus Meranus]]

A *tergo*: Eruditissimo viro utriusque iuris/ doctori Francisco Craneveldo/ cognato meo suavissimo/. BRUGIS.

Ep. 91. J. L. Vives (Louvain) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

93 (f. 116)

13 XI <1521>

A long letter from Vives, written by his amanuensis, except for the last lines, which were added by Vives himself. Vives has received two letters from Cranevelt, one carried by Cranevelt's brother-in-law [Cornelis] van Baussele, one by his trusted servant Andreas (Cf. *Ep.* 11: *HL* 41[1992], 38-39; the latter is without doubt the "famulus" mentioned in the letters 89 and 90). Vives showed Andreas his house so that he could give Cranevelt a description. The house is but small but full of interest, that is, full of books and papers.

Vives is glad that Cranevelt accepted his excuses for not writing. With a quotation from Virgil's *Eclogues*, he assures him of his eternal friendship. He continues his allusion to the *Eclogues* by expanding on his material expectations. If omens are to be believed and trusted, wealth is waiting! On the other hand Vives has certain doubts on auguries: a soothsayer has predicted so much wealth for him that he will resemble King Midas, and when during dinner he opened Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, he read some really promising verses but he is still waiting for all this to come true. Therefore he has decided to see if [mediaeval] verses which predict riches from medicine and law are right. If that turns out to be the case, he will prefer mediaeval versifiers such as Evrard de Béthune and John of Garland to Ovid.

Cranevelt will wonder at this greed of Vives, but Vives reassures him: he has not changed. The only thing he wants is a quiet life of study, far from all futile discussions and jealousies. If he cannot obtain this merely by wishing, it is at least comforting to write about his dreams to a good and trustworthy friend. That way the situation will be more bearable for him and it will not harm Cranevelt. Nevertheless, Vives does not want to be some kind of tragic hero but rather a character from a comedy with moderate affections and a happy ending.

But enough of such complaints. In the next paragraph Vives speaks rather enigmatically about a war and about money which must be obtained. Fate must

have decided the course of war; otherwise one cannot understand what is happening. The war alluded to must be either the expedition against Tournai also mentioned two days earlier by Paulus Meranus in letter 90, or the first war between Charles V and Francis I.

Concerning the money to be claimed: did Cranevelt really think it is an easy business? It is more difficult than to take a fortress and money is harder than rock! Possibly, Cranevelt had asked Vives to collect some money (a debt?) for him at Louvain or Brussels, but we do not know the facts behind Vives's allusive words.

Vives then passes on to another subject. He has heard that Clement (cf. *ep.* 87) is studying medicine energetically and at the same time working so hard on his Greek that Vives fears lest he will not be understood when consulting him in Latin in case of illness, as may well happen after the winter because he (Vives) has demanded too much of his constitution by working too hard. He has decided to moderate his way of life. Greetings to Clement, Fevynus, Laurinus and Cranevelt's wife.

Vives furthermore announces that he may be expected on [the Sunday of] Quadragesima (that is, the beginning of Lent). In a few humorous lines Vives tells Cranevelt that, by then, he will be crammed with juridical (classical and mediaeval) learning. Moreover, he has already sent a 'herald' with a flag of peace after his row or war with the Faculty of Law (referred to in *Lit. Bald.* 7 and 9 (*HL* 41 [1992], 24-27 and 29-34). Although he prefers peace, he will not look for reconciliation any more if the jurists do not want it, but will satisfy himself with the ancient Romans such as Ulpian, Papinian and Paulus.

These lines are interesting for Vives's relation with jurisprudence and the professors of the Faculty of Law. We know from other letters (*Lit. Bald.* 7 and 9) that he ridiculed some of the practices and professors of that Faculty (See J. IJsewijn, "Satirical Elements in the Works of J. L. Vives", in R. de Smet [ed.], *La satire humaniste* [Brussels - Louvain, 1994], pp. 151-163), but we know also that he was deeply interested in law itself (cf. A. Monzon i Arazo, "Humanismo y derecho en Joan Lluís Vives", in: *Joannis Lodovici Vivis Valentini Opera omnia*, I, *Volumen Introductorio*, coordinado por A. Mestre [Valencia, 1992], pp. 263-316).

Under the letter Vives adds in his own handwriting that he has finished the greater part of the work asked for by Rodericus Navarretus and that he will bring it when he comes to Bruges. Rodrigo de Navarrete was a Bruges merchant, belonging to the Spanish nation. In 1523 and 1524 he was involved in financial difficulties: cf. *Lit. Cran.*, 104. As we know his name in full from our letter, we can accept De Vocht's identification with Rodrigo de Navarrete, mentioned in a law-suit at Bruges, March 12, 1524.

Vives Craneveldio suo S<alutem>.

Binas abs te litteras¹ habeo. Priores reddidit mihi affinis tuus Baussellus²,

¹ "binas litteras": cf. *ep.* 87.

² "Baussellus": Cornelis van Baussele; cf. *Lit. Bald.*, 1 and 2 (*HL* 41[1992], 10-13); on Cranevelt's family see *Lit. Cran.*, p. XL-XLII.

posteriores Andreas tuus³, cui ostendi gurgustiolum meum ut id tibi totum coram describat. Nam et si angustum, est tamen adeo varium, ut non parum sit negotii [[o]] vel ostendisse omnia vel vidisse. Plus adhuc est vel tenere vel narrare. “Quae tandem igitur sunt ista tam varia in istoc angulo?” inquis. Libri et compacti et soluti, chartae, schedae, nugae veteres, nugae novae, congesta omnia et multiformia et in arcto paucitas visu numerosa.

Excusationem⁴ te meam accipere gaudeo. Sed ego mei Craneveldii obliviscar? “Ante leves⁵ pascentur in aequore cervi et freta destituent nudos in littore pisces!” Tu me edidicisse putabis Tityrum Vergilii: ita alias de caseo⁶, nunc de cervis ago et piscibus, idque ex eadem aegloga.

Si ominibus est credendum, mutationem aliquam fortunae spero, quae me a caseo ad pisces et cervos ducat, hoc est, a tenui vita ad splendidiorem aliquam et copiosiore. Quod nescio an optem, etiam si promittente fortuna ipsa essem consecuturus. Vide quam credendum sit mihi ominibus, auguriis, ἀποτελέσμασι⁷. Chaldaeus mihi quidam abhinc annos duos tam multa promisit ut cogeret me sollicitum esse ubi tam effundentem se fortunam reciperem et [[a]] locarem, asseverans fore ut non carneus essem, sed aureus, timendumque mihi esse Midiae fatum. Non ita multum post, quum forte ad mensam sederem solus issetque famulus allatum ex culina pulmentum, aperui librum Metamorphoseon Ovidii ac primum in versiculos illos incidi:

“Omnia fictilibus; post haec caelatus eodem
sistitur argento crater...”⁸

(nosti reliqua), et habebam pocula omnia figlina! Quid tu qui es multo me sapientior? Non putasses ad praedictionem⁹ illam mathematici (!)

³ “Andreas tuus”: Cranevelt’s trusted amanuensis, mentioned also in *Lit. Cran.* 89, 90, 107, 129, 130, 150, 178, 184, 186, 201, 229, 231, 264, 265, and *Lit. Bald.* 11.

⁴ “excusationem”: cf. *ep.* 86. Probably Vives received a letter from Cranevelt (or some other message) after he had written *ep.* 87.

⁵ “ante leves”: cf. Verg., *Ecl.*, I 59-60, with reading ‘aequore’ instead of “aethere” as in modern editions.

⁶ Cf. letter 85 (*HL* 43 [1994], 65-68), ll. 10-11 and note 1 (written a month earlier, on 12 October).

⁷ “ἀποτελέσμασι”: add. *Vives propria manu, spatio ab amanuense relicto, in margine* add. *Cranevelt*: “Ptolemaeus scripsit librum [[almagestum?]] τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων”.

⁸ “omnia fictilibus...crater”: cf. Ov., *Met.* VIII 668-669.

⁹ “praedictionem”: ante corr. a manu Vives: “praedicationem”.

eius modi versus facere? Praesertim quum olim sortes peterentur¹⁰ ex versibus poetarum. Θήσαυρον ζητήσας¹¹ ἄνθρακας ἔυρηκα¹². ὦ εἰ γὰρ μοι τὰ ὄρη χρύσεα¹³ ἔκεινα¹⁴; “Venient”, inquis. Fieri potest, sed passu Callipidico¹⁵, ut iam sim mortuus quum pervenerint. Et quod magis mirere: mathematicus dicebat astra id portendere intra sesquicursum solarem. Ter ille se iam convertit et me eodem semper reliquit loco. Idcirco statui experiri an incepta aliqua sint vera et inprimis illi versiculi: “Dat Galienus opes et sanctio Justiniana”¹⁶, ut videam num isti verum dicent quod alii sunt mentiti. Quod si ita fuerit, Ovidio praeponam Ebrardum¹⁷ et Joannem de Garlandia¹⁸ sive Irlandia, certe tanto intervallo quanto res verbis et verum mendacio antecellit.

Mireris unde tam repens // et insueta cupiditas habendi. Si quicquam Vivi tuo credis, mi Craneveldi, non maior quam esse soleat, et frigidior quam extimare possit qui me loquentem ea de re audiat. Vin scire quae sunt illa quae efflictim¹⁹ desydero? Ocium ad perficiendum quod institui, nempe opera studiis nec iniucunda nec (ut spero) inutilia, tum etiam nec Christo²⁰ ingrata, vitam compositam et si quid est in rebus humanis certi, certam, tranquillam, honestam, sanctam et si hoc verbum ire sine

¹⁰ “sortes peterentur”: allusion to the sortes Vergilianae, Homericæ and Biblicæ; cf. *Lexicon der Alten Welt*, (Zürich-Stuttgart, 1965), c. 2840. The best known example of this mantic practice is of course Augustine’s “tolle, lege” (*Conf.* VIII 12).

¹¹ “ζητήσας”: ante corr. “ζητή[[]]σας”.

¹² “ἔυρηκα”: ante corr. “ἔυρησα”. Cf. Lucian, *Zeuxis* 2: “Τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν ἄνθρακες ἡμῶν ὁ θησαυρὸς ἦσαν”.

¹³ “τὰ ὄρη χρύσεα”: cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, I ix 15 = 815; the expression is found in Aristoph., *Acharn.*, 82 and in Plaut., *Aul.*, 701; Ter., *Phorm.*, 68; cf. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter*, p. 227.

¹⁴ “Θήσαυρον . . . ἔκεινα” add. Vives propria manu.

¹⁵ “passu Callipidico”: reference to Callipides, an Athenian mimic actor, who imitated the movements of a person hurrying away, without moving himself; cf. Cicero, *Att.*, XIII 12. 3; Suet., *Tib.* 38; Erasmus, *Adagia*, I vi 43 = 543.

¹⁶ “dat Galienus opes...”: cf. H. Walther, *Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters* (Göttingen, 1963), p. 608, n. 4984.

¹⁷ “Ebrardum”: the famous mediaeval grammarian Evrard de Béthune (d. 1212), author of a *Gracismus*. Modern edition by J. Wrobel (Breslau 1887; repr. Hildesheim 1987).

¹⁸ “Joannem de Garlandia”: another famous mediaeval grammarian John of Garland, author of, *inter alia*, a *Parisiana Poetria*; cf. F. J. Worstbrock, “Johannes de Garlandia”, in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon* (Berlin 1983), vol. 4, col. 612-623; *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, 7 (New York 1986), pp. 133-134, and A. G. Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature 1066-1422* (Cambridge 1992), pp. 163-176.

¹⁹ “efflictim”: ms. “efflittiti”; corr. Vives: “efflittitum”.

²⁰ “Christo”: ms. “CHRisto”.

invidia potest, qualem ingenium meum decet, semotam a puerilibus²¹ ineptiis, a μικρολογία²² absque invidiolis, absque obtrectatiunculis, quae me plus conficiunt quam ullus studiorum labor, quod est ingenii mei pabulum saluberrimum. Si haec optando non [[venint]] veniunt, certe iuvat me de his ad te scripsisse et affectus desyderiaque mea in sinum tanti tamque synceri amici effudisse ac velut partem nonnullam oneris, quo premitur cor meum, in animum tuum inclinasse, praesertim quum illud mihi hoc modo futurum sit levius et tibi nihil hinc accedat grave praeter commiserationem amici. Non quia velim unus ex heroibus tragicis fieri sericatus vel auratus: mallem comicus mediocri amictus panno, temperatis affectibus, sine ferro et cruore, laeta totius fabulae catastrophe²³. Verum illud est omnium sapientiss<imum> et (ut puto) verissimum, arbitrari semper quae a Deo²⁴ fiunt, esse meliora quam quae nos optamus: quae [[n]] una est mea ceu sacra²⁵ in tempestatibus anchora.

ἀλλὰ μέμψεων ἄλις²⁶: de bello ἐπεκλωσόμενα²⁷ πάντα²⁸, alioqui non possent haec fieri, quae videmus agi adverso flumine, velut coactis mortalium animis vi quadam superiore.

De pecunia exprimenda: hanc tu artem existimaras de postremis? Quasi vero non huc maiores sint admovendae machinae et crebriores quam obsidioni quantumvis munitae arcis, et non fortius sit aes ipsum quibusvis saxis.

Aesculapius est (ut audio) cum Claemente totus: vereor ne nobis fiat Ἀσκληπίος²⁹ et salutandus sit Graece etiam in civitate Latina, Albutius³⁰ ille Lucillianus; precor Deum, ut vel ille ne dediscat Latine vel ego discam melius Graece, quo possim ei morbum meum aperire, si quando

²¹ "puerilibus": ms. "pueribus".

²² "μικρολογία": add. Vives.

²³ "catastrophe": ante corr. "catastrophae".

²⁴ "a Deo": ms. "adeo".

²⁵ "ceu sacra": ante corr.: "consacra".

²⁶ "ἀλλὰ μέμψεων ἄλις": add. Vives; add. Cranevelt in margine: "sed quaerelarum satis".

²⁷ "ἐπεκλωσόμενα": ante corr. "ἐπεκλωσόμενα" (the correct form would be "ἐπικλωσόμενα"); We wonder if Vives did not intend to write an aorist form (ἐπικλωσάμενα), because a future makes hardly sense in the text. Cranevelt added a Latin explanation in the margin: "fatis disposita et dictum a Clotho ἐπικλωθω, id est, colum fusum, et refert ad fatum".

²⁸ "ἐπεκλωσόμενα πάντα": add. Vives.

²⁹ "Ἀσκληπίος": add. Vives.

³⁰ "Albutius": a Roman hellenomaniac, T. Albucius (2nd c. B. C.), ridiculed by the satirist Lucilius: see Lucilius (ed. W. Krenkel, Leiden 1970), I, pp. 138-139, vv. 89-95; cf. Cic., *de Orat.*, III 171; id., *Or.* 149; *RE*, I, c.1330-1331.

aegrotaro. Quod subvereor ne post hyemem contingat; usque adeo me immodicis operis nunc eneco. Sed statui temperare mihi et de conatu atque intentione³¹ non parum remittere, ut sim posthac aliis quoque laboribus tolerandis, ne effoetus // fiam unice foetu egesto.

Tu illum mihi salutabis, si quando sui copiam tibi faciet, simul et Fevinum dulcissimum nostrum, cui nil dubito te ostensurum hasce literas, quas velim putet scriptas quoque ad se. Laurino s<alutem> et coniugi optimae cum charissimis pignoribus.

Vale, mi Craneveldi candidissime, et expecta me ad Quadragesima nihil aliud crepantem quam mera digesta³², codices, institutiones, glossulas, Bartolos, Baldos, Accursios³³ quibus iam misi caduceatorem ut amicitiam ineamus. Quid post bellum inter me et illos tam atrociter gestum dicturi aut facturi sint, nescio. Ego caduceatorem³⁴ meum expecto; qui si renunciarit illos vel mussare vel dies aliquot ad deliberandum petere vel animos mihi subiratos prae se ferre, et non primo quoque tempore oblatam fuerint amicitiam [[ample]] complexati (vide quam ferox sum!), statui nullum posthac facere de reconciliatione verbum et, illi si fecerint, non admittere. Satis mihi fuerit, si cum Ulpianis illis et Papi-
nianis et Paulis mihi conveniat iterum. Vale. Lovanii XIII Novemb<ris>.

(*Vives add. propria manu*)

Roderico Navarreto nostro dices me confecisse bonam partem eius operis quod est a me precatus; allaturum mecum Brugis quum eo ibo. Ei salutem pl<urimam>.

A tergo: D<omino> Francisco Craneveldio / iurisconsulto amico integerr<imo>./

Brugis.

³¹ "intentione": ms.: "intentionem".

³² "Digesta, codices, institutiones" are the codes and the handbook of classical Roman law.

³³ "glossulas, Bartolos, Baldos, Accursios": allusions to the famous mediaeval law books and authors at whom Vives repeatedly poked fun. See his *Aedes Legum* and *Lit. Bald.*, 9 (see n.7 and 12).

³⁴ "caduceatorem": ante corr.: "caduciatorem".

Ep. 92. P. Curtius (Louvain) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

94 (f. 117)

18 X <1521>

This letter is an answer to a (lost) letter of Cranevelt in which the latter had reacted to the first part of letter 78 (*HL* 43[1994], 56-58) written by Curtius on 24 September and received by Cranevelt on 3 October.

The date, or rather the position of the letter in the bundle, presents a problem. The letter is clearly dated on the feast of St. Luke, which is on 18 October, but in the bundle it is found after letter 91 of 13 November and even after letter 89 from the same Curtius, dated November 20. We do not know the date of Cranevelt's answer to letter 78 but the lapse of time between 3 and 18 October is long enough for a letter from Bruges to have been delivered to Curtius at Louvain. At the end of his letter Curtius announces the recent publication of Erasmus's *Apology in response to Jacobus Lopis Stunica* [Diego López Zúñiga]. That book was printed by Dirk Martens at Louvain in September and published before 10 October, barely a week before Curtius's letter. On the other hand Curtius does not mention Erasmus's departure to Basel, which happened on 28 October. It seems, therefore, that Cranevelt misplaced this letter in his collection (the folio number does not leave any doubt as to its position) or that the letter was delivered very late. Unfortunately, this time Cranevelt did not mark the day of receipt. Another, less likely, explanation would be that Curtius erroneously wrote "die festo Lucae" instead of "die festo Luciae", which is on December 13. In that case the position of the letter in the bundle is right.

The contents of the letter are rather philosophical. Curtius begins with a discussion of the ideas expressed by Cranevelt in his last letter, ideas with which he partly agrees: it would be nice if one could see the thoughts of other people, but that is utterly impossible. Curtius does not agree, however, when Cranevelt says that little profit could be gained from such a possibility. If one could truly and reliably know the inner man from his outward appearance, from his words or looks or public reputation, there would be gain in that, but it is in fact not possible. We can never be sure about someone's friendship and we may well choose a deadly enemy as our most trusted friend. Great care and prudence are needed in this matter. Cicero's ideal friendship is unworldly or at the least something more suited to Plato's Republic. Curtius sides rather with Bias (one of the seven wise men of Greece), who warned of the need to remember that present love may be turned into future hatred.

News from Louvain: Erasmus has now published an answer to Stunica's attacks. It is to be hoped that in this conflict Erasmus will be as successful as he was against Lee. Both these adversaries are of very much the same kind.

Stunica or Diego López Zúñiga (d. 1531) was a Spanish theologian who studied at Salamanca. Well versed in Greek and Hebrew, he was invited to work on the Complutensian Polyglot Bible. From 1517 onwards he launched several severe attacks on Erasmus's edition of the New Testament (*CE* II, pp. 348-349). The *Responsio* by Erasmus, mentioned in the letter, is the *Apologia respondens ad ea quae Jacobus Lopis Stunica taxaverat in prima dumtaxat Novi Testamenti*

aeditione, printed by Dirk Martens at Louvain in September and published before 10 October 1521. See the critical edition by H. J. de Jonge, in *ASD* IX — 2, p. 49, §VI.

Salve, doctiss<ime> Craneveldi. Scribis tuis proximis literis elegantissimis quidem illis et philosophicis plane, dignisque Craneveldio, scribis inquam, cum Momo¹ optari posse ut cogitatus hominum nobis vel solo intuitu intra praecordia etiamdum inclusi innotescant; ceterum optari frustra, quandoquidem id fieri non possit. Hactenus tecum sentio. Quod autem addis parum allaturum emolumenti, etiam si maxime id fiat, mihi certe non probatur (licebit enim cum tua bona venia modeste disputationis gratia abs te dissentire). Nam quis erit qui non compendium existimabit homines intus noscere et in cute? Quis non deputabit in lucro non falli, sed nec falli posse in deligendo amico [[cum]] quocum² iocos seriaeque omnia communices? Id vero quo pacto assequeris ut falli non possis, ni pectus penitus possis introspicere? Quod enim verbis fidas aut fronti aut fame publice, securus omnino futurus si hec tuo voto responderint, stultissimum est. Meministi namque scriptum esse: “Omnis homo mendax”³ et fronti nulla fides⁴. Scis item plurimos esse Silenos, non eos Alcibiadaeos, sed diversos atque his contrarios⁵. Porro quantum fame aut mobili vulgo in eiusmodi⁶ censura deferendum sit, Seneca definit, dum suspectum haberi iubet quicquid vulgo placet⁷, nempe cui semper pessima pro optimis placuerunt. Itaque vides nil posse statui certi sine hac, quam memoravimus⁸, cogitatuum inspectione in his rebus quas non sine gravi periculo ignoramus. Ob istius carentiam⁹ fit

¹ “Momo”: allusion to the story of Momus criticising the structure of the human body mentioned by Curtius in the first paragraph of letter 78 on the basis of Erasmus’s Adage 474. See *HL*, 43 (1994), p. 57, note 3.

² “cum”: add. supra lineam.

³ “omnis homo mendax”: cf. *Vulg.*, *Psalm.* 115, 11; *Rom.*, 3, 4.

⁴ Compare Martial, I 24.4: “Nolito fronti credere”.

⁵ A clear allusion to Erasmus’s Adage III iii 1 = 2201, *Sileni Alcibiadis* (*ASD* II 5, pp. 158-190), one of the most famous essays in the collection. In the classical tradition Silenus was the ugly, drunken and lascivious tutor of Bacchus, but the Sileni of Alcibiades in the humanistic tradition originating from Giovanni Pico della Mirandola were statuettes of that old Silenus with rare and precious jewels inside. See the first lines of the adage: “*Sileni Alcibiadis* apud eruditos in proverbium abiisse videntur..., quo licebit uti... de homine, qui habitu vultuque longe minus prae se ferat quam in animo claudat”.

⁶ “eiusmodi”: Curtius correxuit pro “eiusdi”.

⁷ Seneca, *Ep.* VIII, 3: “clamo: ‘vitae quaecumque vulgo placent’”.

⁸ “memoravimus”: ms. “memoravius”. It is an allusion to his former letter 78.

⁹ “carentiam”: a typically scholastic word, in Antiquity only used in philosophical treatises and commentaries on Aristotle. Cf. *Th. L. L.*, III c. 448.

aliquoties ut amicum deligamus non redamantem, immo vero interdum et in mortem nostram machinantem. Hinc circumspectissimus Bias¹⁰ monuit: “Ama, inquit, tamquam aliquando osurus”, ne videlicet, si omnia illi committas quae tibi vel commodo vel exitio esse possint, si omnia tibi in perniciem adducat. Scio reclamare huic dicto Ciceronem tamquam vero amicitie toxico¹¹; verum advertendum eciam atque eciam describi, fingi atque [[optari]] proponi¹² potius illic a Cicerone amicitiam quandam supramundanam¹³ aut forte Reipublice Platonis¹⁴ quam eam, que communes deceat homines aut saltem reperiri possit pro corrupto hoc seculo, qualem¹⁵ Fabius suum describit oratorem¹⁶.

Exiit¹⁷ nunc bonis avibus *Responsio D. Erasmi ad Stunicam*, que quam illius traducat impudentiam, arrogantiam pariter et inscitiam non attinet commemorare. Spes est non minus infelicitate conatus illius successuros quam praecedentes successere Leici¹⁸. Nam ita alteri alter similis est, ut deieres vel ab eodem preceptore utrumque vel ab altero alterum artem hanc didicisse sycophanticam.

Bene vale cum tua dulcissima coniuge et me D^{omin}o Fevino, si non graveris, commenda.

Lovanii, die festo Lucae.

Tibi tuisque devotissim^{us} P^{etr}us Curtius.

A tergo: Rara eruditione ac civilitate / conspicuo viro, Magistro Francisco / Craneveldio, iuris utriusque doctore / et oppidi Brugen^{sis} pensionario primo./

Brugis.

¹⁰ Bias: cf. Arist., *Rhet.* B 13- 1389 b 23; Cic., *Amic.*, 59 (which must be Curtius's source as he probably did not understand much Greek).

¹¹ “amicitie toxico”: cf. Cic., *Amic.*, 59, where Scipio is said to have rejected this statement of Bias: “negabat ullam vocem inimiciorem amicitiae potuisse reperiri”.

¹² “proponi”: supra lineam.

¹³ Cf. R. Hoven, *Lexique de la prose latine de la Renaissance* (Leiden, 1994), p. 357 (“supramundanus”) and p. 355 (“supermundanus”).

¹⁴ “Reipublice Platonis”: proverbial for an ideal political state.

¹⁵ “qualem”: ante corr.: “quo modo”.

¹⁶ cf. Quint., *Inst.*, I, pr., 9-10: “Oratorem autem instituimus illum perfectum, qui esse nisi vir bonus non potest...”.

¹⁷ “exiit”: ante corr. “exiet”.

¹⁸ The English theologian Edward Lee, who the year before had published in Paris his *Annotationum libri duo* against Erasmus's New Testament; cf. *CE* II, pp. 311-314 and *Lit. Bald.*, 82 (*HL*, 43 [1994], 62-63).

Ep. 93. Th. More (Chelsea) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

95 (f.118)

12 XI <1521>

More has received a letter from Cranevelt which is altogether worthy of its author. When he returned from Bruges, he found his family safe and sound, although a pestilence was raging in the vicinity. However, he caught the tertian fever himself, but is recovering now and is almost recovered. Greetings from his family to Cranevelt and from More to Cranevelt's wife.

The war, More observes, is causing distress to Cranevelt's country. He hopes that someday princes will be wise enough to be content with a land that is more than large enough for ten of them. Weariness of war, he hopes, may bring peace soon. Greetings.

More is referring to the war between Charles V and Francis I of France, which began in 1521 when Robert de la Marck, Lord of Sedan, started the hostilities at the instigation of Francis I. A first attempt by Henry of Nassau to seize Mézières was unsuccessful. Maybe More hints at this lack of success. Fortune turned when Charles V took Tournai in December 1521. More's hope for peace was not fulfilled: the hostilities ended only in 1529 with the Treaty of Cambrai. See on these events: *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, first edition, 4 (Utrecht e. a., 1952), pp. 68-71.

The text of this letter together with a facsimile and an English translation has been published by Cl. H. Miller, "Thomas More's Letters to Frans van Cranevelt", *Moreana* XXXI 117 (March 1994), 3-66 (pp. 24-26). Correct "Bellam" (recte: Bellum) in line 7 and "lus" (recte: plus) in line 9).

Accepi, mi Craneveldi, nuper abs te litteras tui plane simillimas, hoc est, optimas et amantissimas ac plane litteratissimas. Incolumis reversus meos omnes incolumes repperi, quamquam undique grassante pestilentia. Deum precor ut id velit esse diuturnum. Ipse statim a reditu incidi in tercianam, sed nunc incipio revalescere ac pene revalui. Mea schola tota¹ te salutatur. Tu dominam et uxorem nostram salutatur. Bellum istud, ut video, vos non admodum belle tractatur. Precor aliquando sanam mentem principibus saltem hactenus ut velit² quilibet unus esse³ tanta dititione contentus quanta plus satis esset decem. Sed pacem brevi spero vel belli tedium feret.

Vale, mi Craneveldi, quo nunquam mihi sodalis obtigi[t] quisquam charior. In rusculo meo⁴ prope Londinum, XII die Novembris.

¹ More's children and wards who were educated at his home, first at the Barge in Bucklersbury (in the middle of London), later at Chelsea. See R. W. Chambers, *Thomas More* (London 1935; repr. 1963), p. 169). We thank R. Truman for this reference.

² "velit": ante corr. "velitit".

³ "esse": supra lineam.

⁴ "rusculo meo": identified by H. de Vocht as More's residence at Chelsea; cf. *Lit. Cran.*, 262, l.15.

Tuus quantum suus
Tho<mas> Morus.

A tergo: Viro ornatiss<imo> et amico longe cha/rissimo d<omino>
Francisco Crani/veldio urbi Brugensi / a consiliis /
Brugis.

Ep. 94. John Clement (Bruges or Louvain?) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges).

96 (f. 119)

XII <1521>

A short letter from John Clement (on whom see *Ep.* 87), the right margin of which has been lost with, possibly, considerable loss of text. From what we do possess, it appears that Cranevelt had lent his *Suda* [Suidas] and his copy of the *Epistolae Graece elegantissimae* (see also letter 99!) to Clement who, as we know, was an ardent student of Greek. Clement wants to repay his debt for having kept the books so long by adding some remarks on the notes, made apparently by Cranevelt himself, in the margin of his books. The rest of the letter contains a short list of Greek phrases from Philostratus's *Epistolae* together with a Latin translation or paraphrasis.

This letter is an interesting document in several respects. First, it seems to be the very first letter in Clement's hand to be found; next, it throws light on the study of Greek in the humanistic circles in Bruges: it appears that Cranevelt was interested in such uncommon texts as the *Suda* lexicon and the *Epistolae* of Flavius Philostratus [II] (2nd-3rd centuries A.D.). These *Epistolae* are the first part of an anthology of Greek letters printed by Dirk Martens at Louvain in 1520. Cf. Catalogue *Dirk Martens 1473-1973* (Aalst 1973), p. 283, M201.

The first edition of Philostratus's letters was published in Venice 1499. Letter 1 of Martens's selection — one of the texts excerpted by Clement — can be found among the *Epistolae* of Philostratus until the Olearius edition of Leipzig 1709. It was eliminated from the editions of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (K. L. Kayser, Zürich, 1844; R. Hercher, Paris 1873 and A. R. Benner — Fr. H. Fobes, London — Cambridge Mass. 1949).

One cannot be sure where Clement's letter was written, but it was more probably at Bruges than at Louvain. Against the surmise of De Vocht (*Lit. Cran.*, p. 425), given as a certainty in *CE* I, p. 311, that Clement came to Louvain before Erasmus left for Basel on 28 October, it is now absolutely clear that Clement was still in Bruges in the early days of November (See *Epp.* 87 and 91 written by Vives on 2 and 13 November). On 9 January 1522, however, Vives explicitly mentions that Clement is at the university: "Clementem habemus hic et ornat

hanc cacademiam sua praesentia". (*Ep.* 96, p. 32). Probably Clement returned Cranevelt's books on the eve of his departure to Louvain, sometime in December.

The fact that Clement arrived at Louvain about two months after Erasmus's departure explains a passage in Vives's letter to Erasmus from 19 January 1522 (Allen 1256) in which he says that Clement was sorry that Erasmus had left without his knowledge. If Clement had been at the University on 28 October he would have witnessed his departure. It also explains Vives's last remark in letter 96 about Eucollius's not having sent him a letter through Clement.

We indicate with a slanting stroke (/) where the broken off lines of the letter end.

Remitto tibi, d<omine> Crannielli, et *Suidam* tuum et *Epistolas*, quas nuper abs te commodato accepi. Et ne gratis tanto tempore [tuis libris carueris, tibi adnotavi]¹ / quae mihi ex notulis illis marginariis non satis exacte tenere videris².

Διεσκέφθαι³ mea sententia significat "expendissey aut [explorasse.

οἶδε μηδὲν ὄντες ὁπότε εἰσιν] / τίνες ἂν εἶεν, ὅποτ' οὐκ εἰσιν⁴: at quae nihil habent momenti dum sunt, quaenam ea futura putes cum non fuerint.

"Ὡσπερ ἄνεσχεν ἐκ τῶν⁵ [] / τὸ πυρὸν⁶ ἀντι δάδων⁷: rosae spiculorum loco spinas gerunt, facularum vice igneum quiddam.

"Ὅπωρα καὶ ἐπιδημία⁸ nescio[] / Ubi primum te conven-
ero, declarabo. [[An]] Tunc videlicet⁹ et reliquos duos scrupulos fortasse tibi eximam, de quibus nihil iam dico, qu[ia.... .Vale].

Joannes Clemen[s
Decembris an[ni 1521]

¹ Haec verba *exempli gratia* supplevit J. IJsewijn.

² "videris": ante corr. "videres".

³ Philostr., *Ep.* 1: *Epist. gr. eleg.*, f. a ii^r.

⁴ Philostr., *Ep.* 66: *Epist. gr. eleg.*, f. a ii^v. The following line gives the Latin translation of the sentence.

⁵ "Ὡσπερ ἄνεσχεν": cf. fortasse Philostr., *Ep.* 37: *Epist. gr. eleg.*, f. a iii^r: "Ὡσπερ ἄνεσχεν ἐκ τῆς θάλαττης".

⁶ "τὸ πυρὸν": modern editions read: "τὸ πυρρὸν".

⁷ "τὸ πυρὸν": cf. Philostr., *Ep.* 55: *Epist. gr. eleg.*, f. a iii^r. The following Latin text is again a translation; one may assume, therefore, that in the lost right part of the preceding line the Greek words corresponding to the first half of the Latin were quoted, viz.: τὰ ῥόδα τὴν ἄκανθαν ἀντι βελῶν ἔχει.

⁸ "Ὅπωρα καὶ ἐπιδημία": cf. Philostr., *Ep.* 55: ἐχθρὸς γὰρ ὁ θεὸς καὶ τῇ κάλλους ὁπώρα καὶ τῇ ῥόδων ἐπιδημία.

⁹ "videlicet": compendio supra lineam.

Ep. 95. Guilielmus Zagarus (Ghent) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

97 (f. 120)

21 XII <1521>

Zagarus had received a letter from Cranevelt accusing him of bad faith because he had not returned a book which he had promised not to take with him to Zealand. Zagarus explains that he is not to blame: when he was about to leave, Frans Zantdijck, a distant relative of Cranevelt, had asked to borrow the book which he wanted to copy, and promised to return it immediately afterwards to Cranevelt through another relative, Willem Henovliet. Zagarus refused the request and entrusted the book to Geldenhouwer, who was to bring it to Cranevelt. Geldenhouwer, however, gave it to Zantdijck, against Zagarus's wish, with the argument that he would be pleasing Cranevelt twice, viz. by returning the book and giving the latter an opportunity to meet a relative. To set the situation straight Zagarus is sending now his brother to Cranevelt in his own place to give back the book in perfect condition.

Guilielmus Zagarus or Willem Zagere, probably from Goes (Zealand), studied in Louvain (matriculated 1507; M.A. 1510) under Hadrianus Barlandus in the Paedagogium Porci (the Arts college "Het Varken") and became town pensionary and rector of the Latin school in Zierikzee (Zealand). He may be the same person as a namesake, known to Erasmus, who in 1533 was imperial councillor in Frisia and who died in Leeuwarden on 4 December 1538 (*CE* III, p. 467).

Zagarus turns up once as correspondent of Cranevelt in *Lit. Cran.*, 147, written at Zierikzee on 29 March 1525. Furthermore, his countryman Jacobus Zovitius dedicated his play *Ruth* (1533) to him. Finally, it appears from the present letter that Zagarus already knew Geldenhouwer before 1522, when he met him at Zierikzee (*Lit. Cran.*, p. 403 ad 147).

The secretary, "Franciscus Zandicus [Zantdyck] noster", figures in exactly the same words also in *Lit. Cran.*, 147. He was town secretary of Zierikzee in 1525. The relative Wilhelmus Alexandri de Henovliet could be the same as the 'Wilhelmus filius Alexandri de Henvliet' who matriculated as 'minorennis' at Louvain, July 10, 1504, together with his brothers Johannes and Cornelius. See *Matricule de l'Universite de Louvain*, III, p. 277, n. 89. Another possible relative, Petrus Johannes de Henovliet, matriculated at Louvain in 1505 (*Matricule*, p. 297, n. 218). There is no reference to Wilhelmus Alexandri in the rest of Cranevelt's correspondence.

Vir optime, D<omine> Francisce Crane<ve>ldi, accepi epistolam tuam, qua me malae fidei insimulas. Quod ego fore non dubitaram, tametsi effugere conabar sedulo. Verum sum extra noxam, et culpa plector aliena.

Dederas tu librum commodato mihi stypulatus ne eum mecum una in Zelandiam veherem. Spopondi¹ ego. Verum sub abitum meum, dum

¹ "sopondi": ms. "spepondi".

meam liberare fidem volo, interpellat me Franciscus Zandicus noster a secretis, ut sibi eum accommodem, curaturum se exscribendum, deinde remittendum per quendam suum consobrinum Guilielmum Alexandri Henovlieti filium, tibi ex matre sua consanguineum. Nihil impetrat tamen a me Franciscus. Adest forte Gerardus Noviomagus noster. Is librum a me accipit ut ad te ferat. Bene habent tibi hec principia. At Gerardus ut est facilis in amicos omneis et adversum te fide opt<ima>, me ludens Francisco nostro librum tradit meque adeo invito; dumque repugno, aiunt duplicem redituram gratiam, si tibi hoc praestem, uti hac occasione quem dixi tuum consanguineum Guilielmum agnoscas et ille te. Ita scilicet ego male fidei insimulor et tu tuo frustraris libello. Verum, mi Craneveldi, si quid peccatum est, ignosce. Ego hac una caussa fratrem meum ad te mitto ut mihi placeris, librumque tuum integrum, salvum, sarctum tectum² ad te remitto.

Bene vale. Ex Gandavo, duodecimo Cal<endas> Januarias.

Toto pectore tuus Guiliel<mus> Zagar<us>.

A tergo: Doctiss<imo> simul ac humaniss<imo> / viro D<omino> Francisco Craneveldio, / U<triusque> I<uris> Doctori, Urbi Brugen<si> / a consiliis prudentiss<imo>.

Ep. 96. J. L. Vives (Louvain) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges).

98 (f. 121)

6 and 9 I 1522.

A long letter from Vives, written by his secretary on three pages of a bifolium with a last sentence, added three days later in Vives's own hand.

First Vives reacts to a supposed irritation of Cranevelt, transmitted by Fevynus, because Vives has not been writing much. He says that he is not seeking excuses for the future and that in the past he spoke when it was possible.

Vives received a rather long letter from Cranevelt (which has not been preserved), which did not please him at all. As if it were not enough that I had bad luck, he explains (with an allusion to the death of his patron De Croy), now Fate is also soliciting my good friends. He himself has experienced the dark side of high life [so we interpret the term "Magnificentia" used by Vives]. It makes him think of a word of Socrates in Plato's *Phaedo* [70d-e] about how

² Cp. Cic., Verr. II i.131: "Monumentum..., quamvis sartum tectum integrumque esset". The spelling "sarctum" is erroneous and under the influence of the infinitive "sarcire".

different something can be from its origins. So people who are now mean had splendid forbears.

Vives must be alluding to some problems Cranevelt seems to have had with the authorities in Bruges. Some advice he gave his friend further down in this letter points in the same direction. We do not know the precise nature of these problems, but they probably added to Cranevelt's decision to leave Bruges before the end of the year.

His friend's problems bring Vives to gloomy reflections on the difficult times now that war is raging and none can survive except a bloodthirsty robber. There is not much hope for improvement as long as the princes are young and rash (an allusion to the age of the two adversaries, Charles V [aged 21] and Francis I [aged 27]), and their counsellors not wiser. On this war see the introduction to letter 93.

There is no mention of peace whatsoever, Vives continues; there is only devastation, plunder and blind annihilation. Victorious will not be he who has beaten his enemy but he who is not altogether lost and ruined. They are fighting like blind men, trying to hurt the adversary without thinking of themselves. Both parties are just devastating each other's country. Vives has heard that Charles V has collected a band of black devils [*"nigrorum cacodaemonum"*] to be sent against France as wolves into a flock, and the French terror is equally brutal. The cruelty on both sides is such that one cannot believe it is a war among Christians or even human beings, for that matter, but against wild beasts.

Under these circumstances neither Cranevelt nor any good man can choose his fortune, which does not offer itself easily in time of war. One has to take and to keep it as it comes, and wait for better times to carry out honest and wise purposes. Fortune is a grudging partner even in peace, but in war it despises every wisdom and virtue. Vives who is of less wisdom than Cranevelt cannot advise him anything except to use his forensic position and not to take a hasty decision. Time will be our best guide, as Thales said; besides Vives is hoping that Cranevelt's astrologer will prove as unreliable as his own (an allusion to a passage in Vives's letter 91 of 13 September).

Vives continues his sad musings on fortune and virtue by regretting that there is no proper and stimulating reward for virtue. His countrymen have discovered so many islands rich with gold and jewels (an allusion to the Spanish *conquistadores*); if there were one island without gold, fortune or tyranny, Vives would travel to it braving every sea and peril. It is unbearable that fortune should have power not only over wealth, but also over fame, virtue and our own selves. Which god decided thus? Vives feels the urge to exclaim with the ancient sages: "If there is a God, whence then comes the evil? If there is none, where from the good?"

Some people demand fifty million for squandering and living luxuriously, and they get it! You ask eight thousand to live honestly with your wife and to educate your children, and you do not obtain it! If God arranges this, he must be angry, as some lunatic said in Quintilian.

At this point Vives feels that he has gone too far. Am I myself a lunatic, he asks. Certainly, there is no such thing as fortune except God, who knows that virtue will be rewarded not here but in eternity. What we call good or evil

depends on false judgments. Good is only good for good men and evil for evil men; the decision as to who will be rich and who poor is God's, and he does not want us to know why, only to reverence it. Wealth will make the evil man even less excusable, poverty makes the good one yet more gracious. Vives would accept wealth only to do good with it; if he cannot find riches, he will consider his virtue as purified and rendered more manly thereby.

Fevinus has at last written to Vives, twice even. His style is excellent and Cranevelt may tell him so. Maybe there has been some irritation on Fevynus's side. It seems that he believed that Vives did not think much of his stylistic qualities. But Fevynus should know better and there is no reason to quarrel. Although he is busy, Vives will write him a letter as soon as he has finished the present one.

Clement is in Louvain and is an ornament to the 'academy', as Vives writes jokingly. If he should depart there would be no element of erudition left there. In Louvain only mediocrity prevails. Most humanists there content themselves with one or two poems, three words of Greek and a very short letter from Erasmus's or Politian's collection instead of striving at a level of erudition which they do not regard as greatly different from insanity, identifying erudition with drunkenness and preferring to get drunk with wine or beer rather than with literary studies. Speaking of wine, they are feeling the inconveniences of war. There is plenty of local wine but it is a kind of a miracle because here vinegar is turned into wine. How often he has got the gripes in these days! He will never more drink the Louvain wine and from now keep only to barley-water. He prefers to be healthy than to write immortal poems [under the influence of wine].

Up until the end of the 16th century wine was produced in Louvain, but its quality, which was never very high, deteriorated because of the climate growing colder. On the slopes on the northern and western part of the city, inside the town walls where the grapes were grown, a building for a wine press, owned by the St. Gertrude Abbey and dating from the 16th century, is still to be seen; cf. *Arca Lovaniensis* 7: "De beste Stad van Brabant". Deel I: *Geschiedenis van het stadsgewest Leuven tot 1600*, samengesteld door R. van Uytven (Leuven 1980), p. 146-153.

In closing, Vives asks Cranevelt not to take it badly if he writes less frequently while he is finishing his commentary on Augustine's *City of God*: his time is spent on this activity for the benefit of all scholars, if there is any use in his endeavours at all.

Greetings to all: Cranevelt's wife, Laurinus and Eucollius (Fevinus is not mentioned). Vives is wondering why Eucollius did not send him a letter by way of Clement.

Jo<annes> Lodo<vicus> Vives Fran<cisco> Craneveldio Suo S<alutem>.

Quid est, mi Craneveldi humaniss<ime>, quod Fevinus scribit mirari te [[quod]] nihil a me vobis scribi, qui soleo esse diligentiss<imus>? Quaeso te, non excusavi futurum silentium, et cum licebat, locutus sum, ne tacenti esset unde succenseres. Quod si meministi, duo [[abste]] abs

te precor: alterum mirari uti desinas, alterum ut huius intermissionis officii facias mihi gratiam.

Tuae litterae longiores illae nulli mihi voluptati fuerunt; ceu vero non satis sit me esse infortunatum, nisi καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἄνδρας τοιοῦτον¹ τρόπον [[τ]]² ἢ τύχη καταπείγει³! Cognovi sordes veteris magnificentiae et [[ne]] venit mihi in mentem dicti cuiusdam Socratis in Phedone Platonis⁴ generari res ex diversis rebus atque contrariis. Maiores istorum erecti, sublimes, splendidi; isti abiecti, humiles, μικρόλογοι. O dura tempora, in quibus vereor [[q]] ne quis non⁵ possit vivere nisi sanguinarius praedo! Usque adeo undique consurgunt bella. Praesagit animus nihil visuros bonos viros laeti, quoad isti juveniles aestus deferbuerint. Quod quando futurum sit, soli Deo est cognitum. ὦ κακὸν μέγα! βασιλεῖς πάντας νεανίσκους εἶναι καὶ συμβουλευόντας οὐ πᾶν σφόδρα γεροντικοῦ φρονήματος. Εἰς κόρακας κόλακας⁶.

Pacis nulla mentio; imo illud animo videtur uterque obstinasse, perdere aut se aut alterum. Profecto nimis est illud etymon "Mavortis" verum: "magna ipsum vertere"⁷. Quem futurum hisce rebus exitum speras, nisi novum et caeteris fere bellis insuetum, ut quum uterque alterius⁸ opes satis attriverit, is demum sit superior, non qui inimicum vicerit, sed qui non omnino [[ped]] perditus remanserit. Nam mutuo [[non]] concurrunt caeci ut modo adversarium feriant, rationem sui non habeant. Populantur Galli agrum huius; hic vicissim, qui Galliam vastent, emittit. Melius forsitan sperarem si, quod potius et certe natura prius est, uterque domum suam ab iniuria defenderet, antequam invaderet alienam. Nunc narrant mihi comparatam nescioquam manum nigrorum cacodaemonum⁹, ut in Galliam

¹ "τοιοῦτον": ante corr. "τοῖον".

² [[τ]]: sive [[ἦ]].

³ read "κατεπείγει": the error may be due either to inadvertence or to Vives's ignorance.

⁴ cf. Plato, *Phaedo*, 70d-e: οὕτως γίγνεται πάντα, οὐκ ἄλλοθεν ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων τὰ ἐναντία.

⁵ "non": supra lineam.

⁶ "εἰς κόρακας" is a classical proverbial phrase found in Aristophanes's *Nubes* 133 and *Plutus* 394 and 604; cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, II, i, 96 = 1096. The pun with κόλακας does not seem to occur in Greek literature.

⁷ "Mavortis magna ipsum vertere": cf. Cic., *Nat. deor.* II 67.

⁸ "alterius": ante corr. "alteris (?)".

⁹ The word "cacodaemon" ("devil") was commonly used in Vives's time for black people. See, for instance, Clenardus's reports on life in Evora, Portugal: "Verum ubi primum ingressus sum Eboram, putabam me venisse in civitatem aliquam cacodaemonum. Tot ubique occurrebant Aethiopes...". (Letter 24 [ed. A. Roersch], II. 248-250, of 26 March 1535).

immittatur ceu lupi¹⁰ in gregem. Contra alterum illum magnos ubique delectus habere, [[ut]] incendia, caedes, rapinas, vastitatem huic terrae minitantem. Putes istos non dico cum christianis, sed nec cum hominibus rem gerere. Quae pararentur in feras civitatibus infestas atrociora?

In tam aspera conditione temporum, nec tibi, mi Craneveldi, nec cuiquam bono viro eligenda est fortuna. Nam non se tam facilem illa inter tot armatos prebet, sed qualiscumque oblata mordicus etiam arripienda retinendaque, dum mutatis in melius occasionibus bono et prudenti viro pronius est exequi honeste ac sapienter cogitata. Fortuna enim, quum sedatis tranquillisque rebus non omnino volens libensque rectiora consilia comitatur, tum vero si Mars concutere omnia coeperit, probitatis, // sapientiae, sanitatis omnis est inimica, totam se in Martis sinum effundit inter arma et stoliditatem. Quo circa, mi Craneveldi, quum tu sis consilio tam uberi nec minus efficaci, inepte fecerim, si tibi quicquam consulero. Tantum admonebo forensem hominem, ut loco in quo quotidie versaris, uti scias; nihil statuas subitum; tempus, ut dicebat Thales¹¹ magistrum fore optimum quid erit in se agendum. Nam mathematicus tuus tam erit, ut spero, mendax, quam meus fuit.

Illud vehementer dolendum est deesse virtuti premia non dico sua (nam ea infinita sunt et quae ab hominibus preberi non queunt), sed qualiacumque certe alimenta quibus sustentatur¹². O si, ut multas inveniunt nostrates insulas, in quibus aurum nascitur, gemmae passim inveniuntur, esset aliqua, in qua nec auri nomen nec fortunae vis ac tyrannis esset! Quam libens illam ego per mille peterem maria, per mille pericula! Valere fortunam in opes, dominari, saevire in eas, forsitan esset tolerabile, at licere illi tantum in famam et gloriam, in corpora nostra, in virtutem quoque ipsam, hoc quis deorum statuit? Rapi me impetus exclamandi cum antiquis illis sapientibus: “Si Deus est, unde mala? si non est, unde bona?”¹³

Petit ille HS quinquagies, ut edat, ut potet, ut vestiatur luxuriosissime, ut transigat aetatem totam inter scurras, scorta, canes, tesseras, chartas lusorias¹⁴, nec videat solem multis diebus neque diem, circumdatus

¹⁰ “lupi”: ante corr. “lupos”. The image may be a reversal of the biblical phrase (Mt. X 16): “Mitto vos sicut oves in medio luporum”.

¹¹ cf. Diog. Laert. , I 35 (σοφώτατον χρόνος ἀνευρίσκει γὰρ πάντα); Erasmus, *Adagia* II, iv, 17 = 1317.

¹² “sustentatur”: ante corr.: “sustentur (?)”, deinde: sustentatu (?), denique sustentatur (?)” paene illegibile.

¹³ “sapientibus”: we have not been able to trace this quotation.

¹⁴ “lusorias”: supra lineam.

spurciss<imis> voluptatibus, et impetrat!¹⁵ Petis tu octo millia nummum¹⁶ ut castissime et frugaliss<ime> alas pudicissimam coniugem, modestiss<imos> liberos, studia tua honestiss<ima> atque sanctiss<ima>, et non consequeris! Haec si Deus iubet, iratus est, ut inquit ille apud Quintilianum phanaticus.¹⁷

Sed quo rapior? Sumne et ego phanaticus? Profecto fortuna nulla est nisi Deus, qui scit nulla esse virtuti in hac vita premia, in altera repensurum se copiosissime. Haec quae nos bona dicimus, quae mala, corruptis iudiciis sic appellari; sola bona virtutes esse, sola mala vicia. Reliqua quae bona dicimus, bonis bona sunt, malis mala. Consilia eius, cur hi opulenti sint, illi secus, uni sibi vult esse explorata. Caeteros admiratores, non conscios statuit. Et malum virum inexcusabilem reddunt divitiae, et bonum gratiosorem, quum paupertate sit virtus exercita. Haec sentire, sic sapere et loqui decet homines ex puriore illa et sublimiore Christiana philosophia.

Quibus de caussis et rationibus si contigerint mihi divitiae, non illas reiiciam, sed vertam in instrumentum virtutum; sin me fuerint aspernatae, existimabo puriorem fore meam virtutem et viriliorem quae se ipsa [[content]] contenta nulla quaesierit [[sus]] ad se sustentandam¹⁸ adiumenta. Ad eundem modum tibi esse // persuasiss<imum> pro ingenio et probitate tua sat scio. Idcirco transeundum¹⁹ est ad alia.

Scripsit [[Fevinus]] tandem ad nos Fevinus et quidem bis, elegantissime mea sententia. Nec curo te hoc illi ostendere, quasi aliter vel ego unquam putarim, vel ipse sit tam stupidus et ignorans sui, ut putarit me putare. Scis illud praeceptum γνῶθι σεαυτὸν²⁰ non minus ad arrogantiam minuendam facere, quam ut bona nostra norimus. Non praeseferunt litterae ullam in te invidiam. Quid enim invideat alicui rem tam humilem? Sed mihi succenset, quod non prior provocarim, quasi deceret ociosum a negotioso provocari et non potius contra. Rescribam ei simul primum hanc epistolam perfecero.

¹⁵ "impetrat": r littera supra lineam scripta est.

¹⁶ "nummum": an archaic genitive: "nummorum".

¹⁷ Quint., ?. Source not found.

¹⁸ "sustentandam": ms. "sustandam".

¹⁹ "transeundum": ms. "traseundum".

²⁰ "illud γνῶθι σεαυτὸν": cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, I, vii, 95 = 695: "et illud γνῶθι σεαυτὸν noli putare ad arrogantiam minuendam solum esse dictum, verum etiam ut bona nostra norimus".

Clementem habemus hic et ornat hanc cacademiā sua praesentia. Eia tu iam incipis nobis invideri? Ne feceris, oro te; nam si is abeat, non video quid censere hic possis eruditum. Vix credas quam multi se dedant hic litteris et quam nullus mediocritatem excedat! Plane ex veteribus consiliis “οὐδὲν ἄγαν”²¹; “aurea est mediocritas”²². Eam malunt quam summa illa, et fastigia, in quae tu ac similes conscendistis. Ita contenti sunt hic omnes uno atque altero carmine, tribus Graecis vocibus, et aliquo epistoliolo ex Erasmi aut Politiani²³ epistolis²⁴ decerpto. Quid tu vis? Vivitur exiguo melius²⁵. Immodicas illas et pene ebrias eruditiones non multum ab insaniis existimant abesse. Si futurum est ut sint ebrii, malunt vino aut cervisia quam litteris. Tametsi quantum ad vinum attinet, multum sentimus hic omnes belli incommoda. Lovanien<se> vinum multum est ubique. Pro dii omnes! inter miracula terrarum referri hoc potest, esse ubi acetum nascatur, antequam fiat vinum. Et qualia sum intestinorum per hosce dies perpessus²⁶ tormina! Numquam amplius. Satis sit semel peccasse! Aquam bibo ptisanam. Si non fecero placitura neque victura diu carmina²⁷, parvi id facio. Malo sanus esse quam insanire.

Vale. Et te etiam ac etiam rogo consulas boni, si interea, dum absolve Augustini Civitatem, minus ad te crebro scripsero. Ferre enim aequo animo debes, si publicam utilitatem (si modo ulla reditura est ex hac mea diligentia ad studiosos homines utilitas)...²⁸; sed tamen non²⁹ feres indigne si, dum me puto publicis commodis servire, tantisper tuo desyderio non satisfecero, praesertim quum non sim illud diu frustraturus. Vale. Epiphaniis³⁰ Christi.

²¹ “οὐδὲν ἄγαν”: cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, I, vi, 96 = 596. Normally one finds “μηδὲν ἄγαν: ne quid nimis”.

²² “aurea est mediocritas”: cf. Hor., *Carm.*, II, 10. 5.

²³ “Erasmi aut Politiani”: ante corr. “Erasmo aut Politiano”.

²⁴ The first edition of some letters by Erasmus appeared in Leuven in 1516 (D. Martens); a corrected and enlarged edition, ib., in 1517; a third one in Basel (Froben) in 1518. Probably one of these is meant. The *Opus de conscribendis epistolis* appeared only in 1522. cf. *Erasmiana Lovaniensia*, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia, 4 (Leuven, 1987), pp.159-162. L.E. Halkin, *Erasmus ex Erasmo. Erasme éditeur de sa correspondance* (Aubel 1983). The letters of Politian served equally as models of epistolography: an early edition from the Netherlands is NK I, n.1745.

²⁵ “vivitur exiguo melius”: Claud., *In Rufin.*, I, 215.

²⁶ “perpessus”: ms. “perpesus”.

²⁷ An allusion to Horace, *Epist.* I 19.2-3: “Nulla placere diu nec vivere carmina possunt / quae scribuntur aquae potioribus”.

²⁸ Something like “curo” or “praetulero” is wanting.

²⁹ “non”: supra lineam.

³⁰ “Epiphaniis”: this date and the following greetings were added by Vives in his own hand.

Dic s<alutem> pro me uxori optimae et Laurino candidiss<imo> et Eucollio³¹ iterum atque iterum, quem miror nihil ad me scripsisse per Clementem. Vale, mi [Cr]anevel<di>, IX Ianuarii 1522.

A tergo: D<omino> Francisco Craneveldio / iurisconsulto amico optimo./

Brugis.

Ep. 97. J. Fevynus (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

99 (f.122)

<I-II 1522>

Fevynus is returning Cranevelt's text of Lucian, apparently in a Latin translation. Cranevelt may have missed it on account of his Greek studies, where he has ready resort to Latin as a help to understanding. Fevynus admits that he should have returned it earlier, but because he was fascinated by Lucian's entertaining dialogues or because of the bad weather, he did not find an earlier opportunity and offers therefore his apologies.

Lucian was an important author in the 16th century, both from the linguistic and the moralistic point of view. The *editio princeps* of the Greek text was published in Florence in 1496. Erasmus made a Latin translation of several pieces of Lucian (first edition Paris 1506; second enlarged edition Paris 1514; then Basel 1517 and 1521; see ASD, I-1, pp. 361-627), as did Thomas More and many other humanists. It is possible that the copy of Lucian referred to here, is Erasmus's version.

In an afterthought Fevynus wants his servant to bring from Cranevelt, if agreeable, some small collection of *sententiae*. From Fevynus's words, which are never very clear, it is impossible to know whether he meant a printed book or a private collection of Cranevelt's. If we correctly understand the last part of the sentence, Fevynus does not want the collection for itself, but because it contains a "treatise" begun recently among his colleagues and chaplains.

The letter does not bear a date, but as it follows Vives's letter from Louvain, of January 9, and precedes that of Vandevalus which Cranevelt received on 10 February, it must have been written in the latter part of January or the early days of February 1522. There is no other known letter from Fevynus since November 1521.

S<alutem> P<lurimam> D<ico>. Lucianus tuus oblectavit sane aliquot dies me et nescio an incommodo tuo diutius usus sim, quod cum

³¹ On doctor Eucollius see introduction to *Lit. Bald.* 2: *HL* 41 (1992), 11.

greccisses, tum Latina haud gravate admisceas sive ut expeditius et minore opera illas condiscas, sive ut conferas has Latinas cum illis. Ego remissem me hercule citius, sed cum studium refriguerit, distinuerunt eo diutius me illius dyalogi lepidissimi, vel ob sales (et si quid Lucianus in iis plus prestat, nunc difficulter hanc quoque velut excusatiunculam conscribo) vel ob hyemis rigorem. Quare ignosces improbitati vel temporis vel Fevyni importunitati. Bene atque optime vale.

Et si libet, ut famulus secum adferat sententias aliquot, que in libellum congeste sunt, non quod hoc velim, eas videre, sed tractatum quendam inter collegas et sacellanos dudum¹ initum. Vale.

Tuus ex animo Fevynus.

A tergo: Doctiss<imo> Cranevel<di>o, / suo d<omino> observando.

Ep. 98. L. Vandevalus (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges).

100 (f.124)

<received 10 II 1522>

Leonardus Vandevalus, a physician (cf. *Ep.* 76: *HL*, 43 [1994], 51-54 [p. 52]), was preparing a book and wrote this flattering letter to Cranevelt to ask his judgment concerning it. Most of the letter is taken up with rather abject flattery: Vandevalus stresses his own humbleness and the excellence of Cranevelt who surpasses on his own Demosthenes, Cicero, Isocrates and Cato in eloquence, Aristotle, Plato and Socrates in wisdom. Cranevelt's opinion is therefore very important to the author. Only the first part of the book was actually written: if it should be judged positively, the second part would follow quickly. There is, however, no known published work by Vandevalus. Perhaps the work was never finished or printed. More details on this subject can be found in letters 101, 104 and 105. From letter 101 we learn that the book was about alchemy and rather negatively judged by Fevynus. The tone and contents of this letter show that Vandevalus was not on intimate terms with Cranevelt and was trying to gain acceptance in his circle.

D <octissimo> D<omino>¹ Cranevellio suo Vandevalus εὖ πράττειν.

¹ "dudum": supra lineam.

¹ The abbreviation D.D. normally means "Dominus Dominus", viz. Monsignor, a title which is not applicable to Cranevelt. Hence the solution we propose. It could also be, of course, "Disertissimo Domino" (cf. the first line of the letter), but that seems less obvious for a form of address.

Miraberis meam ineptiam, imo verius impudentiam, Cranevelli disertissime, quod non ausim dicere “tuum Leonardum” (nam qui ausim homuncio ego me tanto asserere amico?), quamquam plus quam tuum, imo magis ac suum, sed certe hominem in tuarum gremium Musarum² et κέρας adeo τὸ τῆς Ἀμαλθείας³ admodum gestientem admitti, vides hoc ceu arrabone tuam interpellare celsitudinem. “Quis, inquires, Cynthius in hoc aurem vellicavit?”⁴ Hic me hercle meus infoelix partus, qui, qualiscumque est aborsus⁵, tuam accedit censuram, ut te Aristarcho⁶ tua vindicatus censoria virgula⁷ sibi paulo plus fidat. Nam hanc priorem huius libelli partem, si tibi sensero probari, animatus p[[a]]llane accessero fausto pede in alteram absolvendam. Habet nescioquid energiae opus favore, iudicio, stimulis, calcaribus adiutum, probatum, extortum, adactum, favore (inquam) eorum qui eloquentiam cum sapientia coniunxerunt⁸; quorum alterum sine altero⁹ aut dementia est aut infantilis balbucies. In utrorumque coetu tantus mihi videris, ut si rhetores numerentur Demosthenes, Cicerones, Isocrates, Catones, non modo [[n]] unus ex his videre, sed hi omnes; hoc est, quod in illorum aliquo desyderamus, in te nemo est qui desyderet. Rursum si sapientes quis narret Aristoteles, Platones, Socrates, nullus non sis, et adeo Plato es et [[aut]] Cicero ut uberius pene in te videatur eloquentia et reluceat sapientia quam in illorum alterutro. Haec a me putabis fortassis adulantius dicta; nam scimus hoc omnibus prudentibus commune, ut suam non agnoscant cum magnitudinem, tum societatem. Sed ego non fucis ago, at vera rerum imagine. Quare hoc ceu colophonem habeto: me tuo unius iudicio non minus innixurum atque Zopyro¹⁰ illi, [[de]] quem narrant historici unum Dareio pluris fuisse atque centum Babylonas.

² “gremium musarum”: “gremium” in the medieval sense of “guild”.

³ “κέρας τὸ τῆς Ἀμαλθείας”: cf. Gell. I 8.2; Otto, *Die Sprichwörter*, p. 94.

⁴ “Cynthius aurem vellicavit”: cf. Verg., *Ecl.* VI 3-4: “Cynthius aurem / vellit...”; Erasmus, *Adagia*, I, vii, 40 = 640.

⁵ A juridical-medical expression. Cf. Iulius Paulus, *Sent.* IV 9.6.

⁶ “Aristarcho”: proverbial for a judge of literature; cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, I v 57 = 457 (*ASD* II 1, pp. 532-533, ll. 349-354); e. g. Cic., *Att.* I, 14, 3; Hor., *Ars P.*, 450.

⁷ “censoria virgula”: cf. Quint. I, 4, 3.

⁸ “eloquentia cum sapientia”: the traditional Ciceronian ideal; cf. e. g. Cic., *Or.* 14-16.

⁹ Vandevalus has made a grammatical error. It would be correct to write: “quarum altera sine altera...” Obviously he was already thinking in terms of “eloquentes et sapientes”, as in the next sentence.

¹⁰ “Zopyro”: a Persian nobleman who mutilated himself to seize Babylon for King Darius; cf. Herod., III 153-160; Vandevalus alludes to a saying, attributed to Darius and found in Plut., *Mor. (Apoph.)*, 173 A, repeated in Erasmus, *Adagia*, II, x, 64 = 1964.

His vale et tuum Leonardum in amicum aut saltem clientulum
adscribito. Hodie e nostra Medicina¹¹.

Λεονάρδος ὁ βανδέυαλος.

A tergo Utriusque Iurisprudentiae professori / eruditissimo D<omino>
Francisco Crane/vellio ab intimis consiliis Bruganis./

Manu Craneveldii: 10 februarii a^o 1522.

Ep. 99. Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges) [to J. L. Vives?]

101 (no foliation)

15 III <1522>

A letter in Cranevelt's hand, probably a draft. We do not know the person to whom it was addressed, but he must have belonged to the Bruges humanistic circle, which at this moment was so much interested in Greek: in all probability it was Vives.

Cranevelt felt obliged to write a letter, but there was little news to tell. He was therefore sending his translation, together with the original Greek text (which sounds better), of a very short letter by the Church Father Basil the Great, sc. *Ep.* 13 [Cf. St. Basil, *Letters*, ed. R. J. Deferrari, 4 vols. (London — Cambridge Mass.), vol. I (1926), p. 104]. He had chosen that letter because it suited the time of the year, viz. the winter. In fact, the letter says that every season has its particular fruits, those of the winter being learned conversations. There can be no doubt that Cranevelt had found the text in the *Epistolae Graecae elegantissimae* printed by Martens at Louvain in 1526 (See above, introduction to letter 94), where it is on f. g iv^r.

Cranevelt would write more, but his fingers were growing numb with cold. About the war he does not know what to say, except that — as Phalaris wrote to the people of Leontini — “we are starving of hunger and fear”.

The reference is to letter 53 of Ps.-Phalaris: see R. Hercher, *Epistolographi Graeci* (Paris 1873 = Amsterdam 1965), p. 421. Cranevelt had found the text in Martens's anthology on f. g iv^r.

Short as it is, this letter is very interesting for the additional light it throws on Cranevelt's Greek studies. It appears now that he had been reading work of St. Basil over a number of years before he published (in 1534 and 1535, at Louvain of Rescius's press) Latin translations of four homilies of the same Church Father (see De Vocht, *Lit. Cran.*, p. lxxi). Basil was widely read and used for educational

¹¹ The archaic use of “*medicina*” in the sense of a doctor's cabinet is found in Plautus (*Amph.* 1013). It may be another reminiscence of Vandevalus's studies with Dorpius in Louvain (See letter 76, introd.).

purposes in humanistic circles, especially his *Ad adolescentes*. Clenardus's enormously successful *Meditationes Graecanicae* (Louvain, 1531), a handbook for private study of Greek, consisted of St. Basil's letter to Gregory of Nazianzus on the solitary life with a word-for-word rendering and G. Budé's translation.

Cranevelt, not surprisingly, had read also (some of) the so-called letters of Phalaris, the notorious tyrant of Agrigentum, Sicily (6th c. B. C.). Phalaris was considered to be the author of a collection of 148 letters, which in 1697 Bentley proved to be a falsification from late Antiquity (2nd c. A. D.? — cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie* XIX, cols. 1649-1652). Ever since their first printed edition (Venice 1498) the letters were favourite reading among the humanists, possibly because they were considered to be the work of Lucian: cf. Erasmus, *De conscrib. epist.* [ASD I 2, p. 224, ll. 6-7, with a misleading note]: "Epistolae..., quas eruditi tribuunt Luciano".

In the transcription of this letter we have not corrected the errors and omissions in the Greek accentuation, because they show the limits of Cranevelt's knowledge.

Si vales <gaudeo>¹, nam et nos valemus. Cum non esset quod scriberem, non potui tamen diutius cessare. Proinde verti epistolam quandam Grecam, sed plane laconicam, Basilii ad Olympium, quae mihi videbatur satis convenire tempori.

"Quemadmodum", inquit, "quaelibet res alie² suo quodam tempore maturae sunt ac nobis obviae³, vere quidem flores, estate [[vero]] autem⁴ aristae, autumnus vero pomum, sic hyemis fructus sunt sermones".

Que, quoniam multo iucundius Grece sonant, non piguit etiam adscribere:

"Ὡςπερ τῶν ἄλλων ὀρίμων ἕκαστον ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ ὥρᾳ ἀπαντᾷ, ἐν ἡρὶ μὲν τὰ ἄνθη, ἐν θέρῃ δὲ οἱ στάχυες, τῷ δὲ μετοπώρῳ τὸ μύλον, οὕτω χειμῶνος καρπὸς εἰσιν οἱ λόγοι".

Plura scriberem nisi digiti prae frigore obstupefierent. Vale.

De rebus bellicis nescio quid divinemus, εἰ μὴ ὅτι πάντων ἐνδεεῖς ἐσμεν, πλὴν λιμοῦ καὶ φόβου, τούτων δὲ ἡμᾶς φησὶν λῖαν εὐπορεῖν, quod Phalaris scripsit Leontinis.

Id<ibus> M<artiis>.

¹ Only the lower half of the g and the o survived after a part of the upper margin was lost (eaten by mice?).

² "alie": supra lineam.

³ "obviae": the 'o' is a correction by Cranevelt for another no more distinguishable letter.

⁴ "autem": supra lineam.

Ep. 100. Poem on the election of Pope Adrian VI.

102 (no foliation).

<ca. 15 III 1522?>

On the occasion of Hadrian VI's election as pope (9 January 1522) someone composed this poem in dactylic hexameters. It may have been Cranevelt himself, as the handwriting is his and the text presents (above the lines, or following the first term) three alternative readings between which the final choice had not yet been made. We have marked these second versions in the text by means of italics between / /.

The author in the first place rejoices at the success of Charles V, victorious in war, whose wishes God had granted through the election of Hadrian. Since in 1522 Cranevelt entertained great expectations for advancement in his career through the Emperor, this poem could well be a part of his bid for Charles's favour. The second part of the poem praises the new pope for his piety, his earlier work as counsellor [of the Emperor] and as military commander [in Spain, as regent of Charles V, when he took Toledo by force], and finally for his theological scholarship.

The poem seems to be otherwise unknown.

- Aurea nunc solita fulgebunt sydera¹ luce
 Splendidus², nosterque polus, tardusque Bootes³,
 Posteaquam magni Cesar ter maximus orbis⁴
 Propensos in vota deos⁵ caelumque meretur.
- 5 Victor erat multis /*cunctis* / rebus certamine belli,
 Nunc et consiliis et certo munere divûm,
 Pontificis quod /*quia* / nomen habet Rhomamque tuetur
 Sanctis praesidiis et castae munere vitae
 Optimus hic presul, nulli pietate secundus,⁶
- 10 Consilioque armisque potens, divûmque penetrans
 Abdita, mortali quanta est permissa potestas⁷.

¹ "aurea sydera": cf. Verg., *Aen.* II 488; ib. XI 832-833.

² "fulgebunt splendidus": cf. Ov., *Met.* II 722-723: "quanto splendor quam cetera sidera fulget / Lucifer et quanto quam Lucifer aurea Phoebe".

³ "Tardus Bootes" is a most common "iunctura" in classical poetry (cf., for instance, Ov., *Met.* II 176). Bootes symbolises Northern Europe where the new pope came from.

⁴ "ter maximus orbis": cf. Verg., *Georg.* I, 26: "...te maximus orbis/". While slightly changing the end of a Virgilian verse Cranevelt gave Charles the title which is usually connected with the Egyptian God Hermes: Hermes Trismegistus / Termaximus.

⁵ "propensos in vota deos": cf. Ov., *Fast.*, I, 722: "ad pia propensos vota rogate deos".

⁶ cf. Verg., *Aen.* XI 441: "haud ulli veterum virtute secundus".

⁷ "mortali quanta est permissa potestas": cf. Verg., *Aen.*, IX, 97: "cui tanta deo permissa potestas".

Dicite io, juvenes, pueri innuptaeque puellae⁸,
 Dicite io, vetuli, jam jam aurea secula surgunt /sunto / ⁹.

[*alio, ut videtur, calamo*] Cum renunciaretur Adrianum sextum in
 Pontificem Maximum Rhome electum
 esse Mense Januario a° 22.

Ep. 101. J. Fevynus (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges).

103 (f.125)

<after 15 III 1522>

This letter is connected with Vandevalus's letter 98. Apparently, Cranevelt passed Vandevalus's book on to Fevynus for a second opinion. Fevynus sends it back with a rather negative judgment, but without critical notes added on its pages, because Vandevalus had chosen Cranevelt as a critic of his work, not Fevynus.

Fevynus considers Vandevalus's treatment of alchemy too elementary; things are not so simple as he represents them. Perhaps the second part of the book will be better and offer more enjoyable reading, certainly if it has passed Cranevelt's criticism. Fevynus is prepared to be a critic of that second part also if Cranevelt wishes it. Fevynus's style is, as usual, awkward and unclear.

From this letter we know the subject of Vandevalus's manuscript, at least of the latter part of it, viz. alchemy. It provides also an interesting glimpse of the intellectual activities of the humanists in Cranevelt's circle, not only as regards the reading and criticising of books but also as regards their interest in, and study, of alchemy. One will remember that among Erasmus's *Colloquies* one is about *Alcumistica*. It was first published in the summer of 1524 in Basel (Cf. ASD I 3 [1972], pp. 424-429).

Part of the upper margin and of the lower right margin, and the bottom of the sheet, are damaged (obviously by gnawing mice) with some losses of text in each case.

S<alutem> P<lurimam> D<ico>. Re[mi]tto tibi Vandavalum nostrum, ut in pluribus mendosum, ita et integrum totum. Nam ut aliquid obiter ceu obelo adnotem aut castigem (etiam si postulas), non videtur id exigere libellus. Neque item si velim aut liberet, ausim admovere manum, presertim cum delegerit Craneveldium Aristarchum et censorem¹ sibi.

⁸ "pueri innuptaeque puellae": cf. Verg., *Georg.* IV 476; id., *Aen.* VI 307.

⁹ "aurea secula sunt": cf. Verg., *Ecl.* IV 9: "surget gens aurea mundo"; id., *Aen.* VI 792-93: "aurea condet / saecula".

¹ "Aristarchum et censorem": cf. *Ep.* 98, n. 6.

De alcimia quam in libelli calce adponit, metuo ut ne id cogitet, sed potius pro ingenii modulo ludat. Quis enim unquam post tot² exantlatos atque exhaustos in ea arte perdiscenda labores, post tot ut plurimum vana, inutilia et ridicula experimenta, quis scripto³ quicquam, praesertim quod esset compertum aut prope manifestarium, de alchimistica prodidit? Si modo ars tam facilis sit, quam ille persuadere nititur! Aut cur non passim ab omnibus in hoc elaboratur, quo tandem⁴ consequamur, id quod tanto dispendio, tanta cura, tot vigiliis inquirimus? Sed in iis primitiis praeludat Vandevalus. Post viderimus q[uid] secundus secum adferet libellus, eo fortassis iucundi[or], quo iverit hic tuo iudicio aut probatus aut cert[e] non contemnendus. Ac tum vel tua causa censorem ag[am], homo alioqui gravis et prope morosus censor, ne dicam iudicii stolidis-s<imi> et censure nimisquam superbe et prodigiose.

V[ale /] tuam epistolam.

Fevy[nus]] semper t[u]us⁵

A tergo: D<omino> Craneveldio suo / d<omi>no et amico integerrimo.

Ep.102. J. L. Vives (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

104 (no foliation).

<possibly III 1522>

A short note by Vives to ask for some books, the *Suda* [Suidas] lexicon, Cicero's philosophical works and Erasmus's *New Testament* (second edition of 1519). Vives ends his note by asking Cranevelt to indicate a time and place that same day for meeting their friend Fevynus.

In letter 91 Vives had announced his intention to come to Bruges for Lent. Since Easter Day 1522 was on 20 April, he probably arrived around 5 March. This note must have been written a couple of weeks later: Vives, obviously, is already at work again (on St. Augustine), and in the MS bundle his note is placed after document 99 (probably of 15 March) and a few more undated letters.

There is a striking similarity between the requests in this note and those in letter 79, written in the summer of 1521: Vives is asking again for Cicero's philosophical works and Erasmus's *New Testament*, and for an appointment with Cranevelt.

² "tot": ante corr. "tont".

³ "scripto": the "o" looks more like an "e" in the manuscript.

⁴ Fevynus wrote "tamdem".

⁵ The upper part of "T" (?) and one stroke of a first "u" (?) survive.

As with the preceding documents, mice have eaten part of the upper margin with some loss of text.

D<omi>ne Cranaveldi, mitt[e, quaeso, ad] me Suidam et opera philosophica Ciceronis et Novum Instrum<entum> Erasmi cum annotationibus ex II editione, et vide ubi et quando velis congregiamur hodie cum Fevino nostro. Vale.

Tuus Vives

Ep. 103. Arnoldus de Gruithuys (Arnhem) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

106 (f. 126)

6 III 1522

As De Vocht wrote in his General Introduction (*Lit. Cran.*, p. LIII), Cranevelt's position in Bruges was not without misgivings and he looked for something more appropriate. From this letter it appears that Cranevelt in 1521 or 1522 made inquiries as to a possible position in the service of Charles, Duke of Guelders. Arnoldus de Gruithuys [or Arnold van (den) Gruythuyzen], one of the Duke's most trusted councillors (cf. *Lit. Cran.*, 164, l. 7 + n.; and *Ep.* 5, n. 1 [*HL*, 41 (1992), 18]), answered Cranevelt's letter with the present one.

Arnold expresses his joy at Cranevelt's benevolence to his native land and his Duke. He did not hesitate to speak immediately to the Duke, who was himself very glad about it. Gruythuyzen is therefore of the opinion that Cranevelt could be invited one day to return to Guelders. Just now no suitable position is available. It is true that the chancellor is almost crippled and hardly equal to his duties, but the Duke seems to think it inhuman to remove the man or substitute him when he is still alive, and Gruythuyzen thinks that it is for this reason that the Duke has not yet pledged himself to something definite. As soon as he knows anything for certain he will at once write to Cranevelt. In the meantime Cranevelt can be assured that he finds in the Duke a most clement and benign prince and in Gruythuyzen himself a zealous defender of his interests. The carrier of the letter will tell him in full about the latest news and the war. Greetings to his family, also on behalf of Gruythuyzen's wife.

Nothing else is known about this matter. Cranevelt never entered the service of Duke Charles but he was appointed by Charles V a member of the Mechlin Parliament, or Grote Raad, on September 27, 1522.

The old chancellor must be Wilhelmus van Lanck from Cologne. He matriculated as a minor at Cologne in 1471 and entered the Faculty of Arts. In 1484 he became a bachelor and in 1493 licentiate and Doctor of Law. In 1497 he was

appointed a canon of St. Severin's in Cologne. In 1505 he was still a member of the Cologne Faculty of Law (See H. Keussen, *Die Matrikel der Universität Köln*, I [Bonn, 1928], p. 818, 329th rectorate, nr. 56). Shortly afterwards he seems to have entered the service of the Duke of Guelders, since he is mentioned as chancellor in documents ranging from 1506 to 1530 (Cf. Is. An. Nijhoff, *Gedenkwaardigheden uit de geschiedenis van Gelderland*, VI [Arnhem — 's Gravenhage, 1859-1875]). He repeatedly acted as a negotiator between his Lord and the latter's Burgundian and Hapsburg adversaries; for instance, in 1508 (Treaty of Cambrai; see Nijhoff, nrs. 628-630), in 1513 (Nijhoff, nr. 720) and in 1517 (Nijhoff, nrs. 875 and 892). In some documents Van Lanck is also mentioned as "prepositus" of Zutphen (Nijhoff, nrs. 1053 and 1574). He seems to have died between 1530 and 1535. Cf. A. J. van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden*, L (Haarlem, 1852), p. 32 (where he is called, erroneously, a Doctor of Medicine).

S<alutem> P<lurimam> D<ico>. Cum ex postremis tuis ad me litteris singularem quandam animi tui benevolentiam et non vulgarem pietatis affectum in patriam principemque nostrum liquido intelligerem, non distuli mox id, quibus optime verbis ex mei ingenii facultate poteram, ipsi principi declarare. Qui mirum est quam grato animo et hilari fronte tuum istud officium acceperit, ut maximam omnino mihi spem attulit fore aliquando ut honestissime ac utiliter tibi tuisque nec non nobis omnibus iucunde in patriam revoceris. Sed quia dignam et congruam excellentie et virtutibus tuis conditionem nullam habere hic apud principem ipse poteris praeter eam que id muneris sustinet quod vocamus cancellarii, quem licet paraliticum iam et membrorum suorum dissolutione vehementer afflictum ideoque ad multa imprimisque necessaria inutilem, amovere tamen et abiicere viventem alterumque superstiti adhuc illi sufficere, impium esse sibi princeps neque satis honestum fortassis arbitratur. Id quod ego non temere suspicor in causa fuisse, cur certum aliquid mihi princeps nondum hac de re responderit tibi suo nomine significandum. Si quid autem interim certi intellexero, tibi perscribere non differam. Hoc unum certo scias in omnibus tuis rebus et negociis principem habere benignissimum clementissimumque meque patronum (quod probe nosti) et causarum tuarum defensorem ubique [[dignissimum]] diligentissimum.

De novis rebus bellorumque hic successu omnia ad plenum intelliges ex eo qui has tradet humanitati tue, quam cum uxore et liberis salvam et felicem ego et uxor quam vehementissime optamus.

Vale et me, uti soles, ama. Ex Arnhem, sexta martii anno Domini XXII^o.

Tuus ad omnia obsequentissimus
Arnoldus de Gruithuys

subscripsit.

A tergo: Disertissimo ornatissimoque viro iuris utriusque / consultissimo doctori magistro Francisco Craneveldio / praeceptori et amico suo integerrimo.

Ep. 104. L. Vandevalus (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges).

107 (f. 127)

<III 1522>

This letter, slightly damaged at the edges with some loss of text, is the third document on Vandevalus's book (see letters 98 and 101). It contains his answer to the critical remarks made by Cranevelt. These are mainly linguistic, so that it remains difficult for us to determine the exact contents of the book, apparently a mixture of medicine, alchemy and magic. It is equally hard to establish Cranevelt's real opinion of it, which would be interesting to know as we have learned already that Fevynus did not rate it very high.

The letter begins with a great flow of rhetorical expressions of gratitude towards Cranevelt, called "the most lovable of men" by Vandevalus. After half a page of such effusions, Vandevalus turns to the two letters Cranevelt has sent him regarding his manuscript. From Vandevalus's words we learn that the first letter was little more than a friendly acknowledgment of receipt with some words to encourage him in his study. The second was more substantial and contained critical remarks, some of which at least Vandevalus reviews in the last part of his letter. Although he again thanks Cranevelt in excessively humble words, one seems to perceive some irritation at the critical remarks coming through. Be this as it may, Vandevalus accuses Cranevelt in friendly fashion of having expressed a far too mild judgment, of not having marked every mistake, etc. He cannot rely on his own judgment as he approves his own trash too readily. Perhaps Cranevelt only marked the minor faults as Vandevalus would identify the major ones for himself. Of course he is glad about Cranevelt's mild criticism but he fears that Cranevelt is overdoing his mildness. Therefore he asks him again to approve only what can really be approved of. Vandevalus is aware that Cranevelt is showing consideration towards his reputation, but since he [Vandevalus] knows that he is not greatly learned or talented, he is afraid of the general opinion, certainly less indulgent than Cranevelt.

Next Vandevalus moves on to Cranevelt's specific observations. According to Cranevelt the noun *alklumiva* does not occur in the dictionaries. Vandevalus agrees but, he adds, he has followed the Egyptians Hermes [Trismegistos] and Geber [Jabir] who wrote in Arabic. "Al" is the Arabic article and the word "klymia" is the Arabic version of what Dioscorides and Pliny call "cathimia", so his use of this apparently unusual or even non-existent word is correct. In fact, Vandevalus uses here an Arabic word "al-iqlîmîya", which has been borrowed from the Greek *kadmeia*, in Latin "cadmea" or "cadmia" (ore of zinc or calamine), written in some mss. "casmia" or "catimia". In this discussion of

Arabic terms Vandevalus furthermore refers to the 13th-century Simon of Genua and his book on medical language, to his own contemporary Symphorien Champier, who criticised Simon's style but himself relied too confidently on Isidore's *Etymologiae*, and, finally, to (the pseudonymous) Stephen of Alexandria. This paragraph is followed by some minor remarks, some of which make us believe that Cranevelt had misread certain terms in Vandevalus's manuscript. They regard the double meaning of "abortientes" (probably: women having either a miscarriage or a premature delivery) and Cranevelt's preference of "maiestas" instead of "dignitas praetoria". The next point is about the calculation of climacteric years. A certain passage in Vandevalus's text Cranevelt could only understand if one reckoned in periods of nine years. Vandevalus states that that is the correct procedure and he refers to the Roman mathematician Firmicus Maternus and to a letter by the emperor Augustus to prove his thesis. Then follow some minor remarks of an orthographical nature and a defence by Vandevalus of his somewhat barbaric-sounding language. Among other points he defends the use of the word "concivis", against the opinion of Vives, with a reference to L. Valla and N. Perotti.

Among all these linguistic remarks we find some interesting statements. Cranevelt notices that jewellers have found that it is impossible to break diamonds with the blood of he-goats. Vandevalus more or less agrees, mentioning again the opinion of Simon of Genua, but thinks the blood may be able to soften the diamonds. Furthermore, Cranevelt does not understand the expression "proiectio medicinae mineralis". With a reference to Arnoldus de Villanova (13th c.) Vandevalus explains that this is the normal alchemical term to denote the fusion of a small part of the philosophical stone (after its preparation is complete) with lead or other liquified metals.

According to alchemistic beliefs, every element is convertible into another, but one must use a medium called "medicina". For metals this "medicina" is mercury, for minerals it seems to be the philosophical stone. If one mixes mercury with a little of the Elixir and adds after some further preparation a fragment of gold or silver, one should see the whole mixture converted into gold or silver. This last and final process is called (as are possibly some other kinds of liquid emissions of) "proiectio". We consulted on this matter the interesting work by, or attributed to, Arnaldus [or: Arnoldus] de Villanova, *Thesaurus Thesaurorum et rosarium philosophorum*, where he points out that mercury is the only "medicina" for metals, and that the philosophical stone is the basis of all alchemical research, explaining how one should make this stone and what the different preparations are, finally (2. 31) how to make gold: "de modo faciendi proiectionem". Works of Arnaldus were printed at Lyons in 1504, on 20 Dec. 1509 (A copy of this edition was at Ghent in St. Peters Abbey on the Blandijnberg and is now in the University Library in Ghent [Med. 46]), in Venice 1514, at Basle in 1515, etc. In 1520 a new edition appeared at Lyons with Arnoldus's life written by Symphorien Champier: *Arnoldi de Villanova medici acutissimi Opera nuperrime revisa, una cum ipsius vita a Symphoriano Campegio edita recenter hic apposita* (Copy in the University Library at Louvain [P133.5:54/Fo]).

It seems that Cranevelt requested Vandevalus to make known his sources. For this reason Vandevalus promises to send Cranevelt a little book which he once stole (!) from the library of Johannes Wuesbroec, an expert astrologer and alchemist (to this book Cranevelt alludes in letter 105). It is written in a barbarous language, but in such books sometimes great secrets are contained, as Pico della Mirandola once wrote to Hermolaus Barbarus. As to Cranevelt's question whether Vandevalus was writing about alchemy in earnest or in jest, he answers rather evasively. A last correction of Cranevelt, based on the *Suda* lexicon, is conceded without objections: Galenus did, in fact, live to be 70 years of age.

The end of the letter is rather damaged; it contains some excuses for having trespassed on Cranevelt's time and a recommendation of or from Leonardus [possibly, Eleopolus?].

D<omino> Cranevellio suo Vandevalus.

Salve, virorum amicissime. Hoc enim tui meum τὸ ἐπίθετον quot¹ optimo mihi videre asserere: poteram eruditissimum, optimum, integerrimum, disertissimum appellare, sed nescio qui factum sit ut istuc ipsum inter omnia maxime applausit, imo plane scio; quo enim pacto addubitem tam candidum animum mei amantissimum (at non sine [[u]] foenore!) qui pro levi chartula eaque ineptiarum plena a clientulo (nam amiculum dicere nondum satis audeo, quamquam et amo [[et]] effusissime et vicissem redamor, ut [[t m]] τὰ μνημόσυνά σου clamant syncere et ingenue excepta) non dico tam amicas, uberes, disertas, erudititas, copiosas literas, sed integros commentarios τὰ πάντα βιβλία nobis reddideris? Dispeream, mi Francisce, si unquam mellitius mihi contigit! Legi, relegi, nec exaturata mens est. Saepius deosculatus sum tam candidum erga nos pectus, tam amoris plena praecordia, tam denique nostrae tenuitatis studiosam amplitudinem. Superos interim oro haec cepta secundent.² Mea (fateor) peccavit temeritas, at tua donavit humanitas. Utinam, charissime Cranevelli, has cordis fibras cerneret! Videres quam ardeat, suspiciat, observet, colat, veneretur istas tuas τὰς χάριτας καὶ τὸν σὸν ἔρωτα; dispiceret tua synceritas quam gestiat haec mea balbuties et infantia tuae facundiae nonnumquam instar τῆς τέττιγος fieri obstrepera.³

¹ Sic pro "quod"!

² "cepta secundent": Cf. Verg., *Aen.* VII 259: "Di nostra incepta secundent".

³ "obstrepera": in Antiquity only in Apul., *Flor.*, 13, with regard to crickets; cf. *ThLL*, IX 2, c.250.

Priores illae [[t]]literae quanta contineant indicia morum tuorum vere liberorum, hoc est tractabilium, suaviu[m], benignorum, faciliu[m], erga nos prorsus pronorum, agnosco magis quam eloqui queam; quam amice nostrum ignavum opusculum alleves, quam dulciter ignaviam eleves, quam blande foves infoelicem partum! Hortar[is] pergam, suades per ora volet et oras. At σπεῦδε βραδέως⁴ [mones?].

Alteris literis idem agis, asscribis notulas aliquot, te futilem Aristarchum⁵ appellas, iubes me meo uti iudicio. Itane, opt[ime] Novio-mage, iocon' an serio? Novi ego quam sit mihi mea curta sup[ellex]!⁶ Scio te magnitudinem tuam solum nolle agnoscere. Vereor ut minus [iustum?] te exhibueris iudicem. Civiliter nimium agis! Vide, quaeso, quo detrudas: approbas pene omnia, demptis aliquot minutiis. Tam φίλαντον me putas, qui totus stupidus mea mox probem // nugamenta,⁷ quaequae in buccam forte v[enerint].⁸ At fortassis eo ho[s] minutulos dumtaxat errores annotasti, quod nimirum ex his subodorarem quam sint longe plures iique graviores et οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐπὶ⁹ facientes. Visus fueras paulo salvis mihi consuluisse, si quicquid displicuerit totis obeliscis¹⁰ transfixisses, non quod non summam habeam gratiam ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀστερισκῶν verius quam τῶν ὀβελῶν,¹¹ sed plusquam summam eram habiturus, si nihil apud me probares quod tibi non probaretur. Nam quid hic placere tanto viro potuit, nequeo dispicere. Sed non sinit tua mansuetissima indoles te amicali scripta obiurgare aut castigare [[te]]. Scio, scio! Verum iterum atque iterum consyderet tua perspicacia quid de meo capite statuendum censeas, quid dicerent homines, imo quid non dicerent, ubi videant scriptionem tam immature contra Augusti proverbium¹² properatam. Novi tuam integritatem, e regione meam perspectissimam habeo imbecillitatem, quippe quam sim ingenio invalidus, arte minor,

⁴ “σπεῦδε βραδέως”: Suet., *Aug.* 25, 4; Gell. X 11.5. Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, II, i 1 = 1001.

⁵ “Aristarchum”: cf. ep. 98.

⁶ “curta sup[ellex]”: Cf. Pers. 4, 52: “Noris quam sit tibi curta supellex”.

⁷ “nugamenta”: cf. Apul., *Met.*, I 25: this locus is the only one in Forcellini, *Totius Latinitatis Lexicon*, 3, p. 404.

⁸ “in buccam venerint”: a very frequent expression; cf. Erasmus *Adagia*, I v 72 = 472 (ASD II 1, p. 546); Otto, *Die Sprichwörter*, p. 59.

⁹ “οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐπὶ” [with wrong accent on ἐπὶ!]: Lucian. *Philops.* 1; id., *Herm.* 36; cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, I v 45 = 445 (ASD II 1, pp. 518-520).

¹⁰ “obeliscis”: ordinary use of these correctional signs in Antiquity shows exactly the reverse of what is hinted at here.

¹¹ “τῶν ὀβελῶν”: ante corr.: “τοὺς ὀβελούς”.

¹² “Augusti proverbium”: sc. σπεῦδε βραδέως. See note 3 above.

rerum et verborum peritia minimus. Ita fit ut inter saxum (quod dicitur) haeream et sacrum,¹³ metumque ne dum tenerrime parvulo indulges, de meo capite (ut dixit Sarsinas)¹⁴ agantur comitia. Porro impudentissimus aut certe ingratisissimus sim, si sic tecum agere pergam. Donabis haec itaque nostrae pusillanimitati tibi (pene dixeram) imputabis hanc meam expostulationem: iussisti etenim meo uterer iudicio, quod imprudentius fortasse a me factum est, quando non videor recognoscere beneficium, quod adeo summum est ut nihil putem mihi maius posse contingere; atqui rursum prudenter opinor, ubi meae consultum optarim anxietati, quae hoc est vehementior quo penitius intueor quam sum nihili.

Sed ad tuas venio annotationes, si forte fortuna nonnihil afferam, quo occasionem praebeam¹⁵ alia insigniora delicta verubus tuis iugulandi. Ἀλλυμῖαν (inquis) non reperiri in dictionariis, nec adeo in ipso Suida.¹⁶ Sat credo, sed ego Hermetem et Geberum Aegyptios¹⁷ cito, quos pene in confesso est lingua usos esse Arabica, eque hac // [lingua versos(?)] horum commentarios, quibus barbarolatini utuntur. Q[uamquam] id non adeo assevero ut demonstratione me putem posse docere. Quam Dioscorides et Plynius¹⁸ “cathimiam” nominant, Avicenna et Arabes caeteri “klymiam” appellant, estque caput super ea in secundo Canonis;¹⁹ eandem iterum “alklymiam”. Nam τὸ “al”²⁰ articulus est Arabum eoque

¹³ “inter saxum haeream et sacrum”: Plaut., *Capt.* 617; id., *Cas.* 970; Apul., *Met.*, XI 28, 2; cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, I i 15 = 15 (*ASD* II 1, pp. 128-129).

¹⁴ “Sarsinas”: cf. Plaut., *Aul.* 700: “Ibo intro, ubi de capite meo sunt comitia”. Maybe another reminiscence of Vandevalus’s study with Dorpius at Louvain.

¹⁵ “praebeam”: ante corr. “praebiam”.

¹⁶ Cranevelt possessed this Byzantine lexicon. See letter 102.

¹⁷ “Hermetem et Geberum”: sc. Hermes Trismegistos whose alchemistic reputation mainly rested on the *Fabula Smaragdina*, and Abu Musa Jābir ibn Hayyān al-Sufi (Tus 721- Sevilla 803), founder of Arabic alchemy. Since works of Hermes are found in those of Jabir, Vandevalus may have seen only the writings of the latter author. On Jabir see Jabir ibn Hayyan, *Dix traités d'alchimie: les dix premiers traités du livre des soixante-dix* (Paris, 1983); P. Kraus, *Jabir et la science grecque* (Paris, 1986); W. R. Newman, *The Summa perfectionis of Pseudo-Geber* (Leiden, 1991).

¹⁸ “cathimia”: recte “cadmea”. See Diosc., *Mat.* V 74; Plin., *Hist. Nat.* XXXIV 100-103 et alibi.

¹⁹ “in secundo Canonis”: sc. Avicenna, *Canon Medicinae* 2, 2, 168-169. A facsimile reprint of the edition, Venice, 1527, has been published in Brussels, 1971. See furthermore: O. Cameron Gruner, *A Treatise on the Canon of Medicine of Avicenna incorporating a Translation of the First Book* (London, 1930 = New York, 1973).

²⁰ The use of the Greek article in Latin to single out a word is a humanistic usage. Mediaeval Latin authors used either the demonstrative “hoc” or a newly coined article “li” or “ly”.

passim in Grecis vocabulis²¹ vel iis, quae a Graecis sunt flexa, utuntur, quemadmodum “algaliam”²² nuncupant “galiam”, confictionem. Tametsi non ignorem dubitare²³ Symonem Ianuensem,²⁴ virum non indiligentem nec de tribus medicis linguis male meritum (quamquam hunc non admodum politum putat Symphorianus Champirius,²⁵ homo non ineruditus, sed videat quam erraverit iudicio, dum quartum τῶν κακετυμῶν Isidori²⁶ amplexus bonum autorem sit aspernatus), Symonem inquam vacillare num a Graeco “alkymia” sit “alacritas”. Stephanus²⁷ item “cathimia” ait esse “alklymia”. Nimis prolixum esset verba Plinii recensere.

Subiicis scrupulum super amphibologia in abortientes. Non diffiteor, sed facile revellitur ei qui mox antecedentia legerit.

Admones “nova instituta” legendum: ita erat in autographo.

Addis “maiestatis” aut “maiestatem” scribendum. Non reclamo, quamquam haud video cur non ita liceat loqui: “Aliquid imminuis dignitati praetoriae”.

²¹ “vocabulis”: ante corr. “vocabulus”.

²² “algaliam”: a mixture; medieval (and technical) Latin, of uncertain origin, maybe related to Arabic ‘alachuīn; the normal form is “algala”; cf. *Mittelateinisches Wörterbuch*, I (München, 1967), c. 444.; Ducange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, I, p. 179 (with a different meaning).

²³ “dubitare”: ante corr. “dubitarem”.

²⁴ Symon Ianuensis or Simon of Genua, viz. Simone de Cordo, chaplain and physician of the Popes Nicholas IV (1288-1292) and Boniface VIII (1294-1303), is the author of a *Synonima Medicinae* (*Clavis Sanationis*), printed at Milan in 1473 (copy in British Library) and at Venice in 1486, 1507 and 1510. See U. Chevalier, *Répertoire des sources historiques du Moyen Age. Bio-bibliographie* (repr. New York, 1960), II, col. 4270.

²⁵ “Symphorianus Champirius”: Symphorien Champier (1472-1539), physician (amongst others of Antoine de Lorraine), accompanied Louis XII to Italy in 1509; wrote many books on history and medicine, one of which, *Rosa Gallica omnibus sanitatem adfectantibus necessaria* (Paris, 1514) might be the work here referred to. On Champier see P. Jodogne, “La correspondance de Symphorien Champier avec Jérôme de Pavie dans le ‘Duellum epistolare’ (1519)”, in G. Verbeke - J. IJsewijn (eds.), *The Late Middle Ages and the Dawn of Humanism Outside Italy* (Leuven, 1972), pp. 44-56.

²⁶ “Isidori”: sc. Isid. Hisp., *Etym.* IV (De medicina), with a pun on the name of the work.

²⁷ “Stephanus”: presumably “Stephanus of Alexandria” the unknown author of a work called *De magna et sacra arte*, falsely attributed to an Athenian physician Stephanus from the 7th century (ed. J. L. Ideler, *Physici et medici Graeci minores*, 2 (1842 = Amsterdam, 1963); cf. *RE*, III A2, c. 2404-2405. In this work καδμεία indeed occurs (book 3; see the edition, p. 209, l. 10) but not the word ἀλκλυμία. Maybe Vandevalus just means that Stephanus calls “alklymia” “cathimia” or Vandevalus used a Latin version (he quotes the terms in Latin, not in Greek) to which the translator or editor added an explanation or a gloss.

Praeterea [non] intelligis quomodo eadem sit “aetas decime trieteridis” et “tercius clymactericu[s]”, nisi forte per novenarios supputem. Ita est. Sic supputavit Iulius Firmicus Maternus,²⁸ astrologus eloquentissimus, et Divus Caesar ad [Gaium] nepotem apud Gelium:²⁹ 63 omnium clymactericorum angustissimum putat quod scilicet utrique scalarii³⁰ et septenarii et novenarii in [eo] terminentur: “Κλυμακτέρα, inquit,³¹ communem seniorum omnium [[evasimus]] [tertium] et sexagesimum evasimus annum”. Sed sus Minervam.³²

Annecti[s] debere scribi “non nesciam”. Fateor, agilitas calami in causa f[uit].

Subiungis “omiserat” loco “amiserat” legendum. Ita est apud Hieron[ymum] et nescio quomodo ex a factum sit o. Item dogma dogmata; it[em] Adhuc “concives” ais Vivem cum quibusdam putare non satis re[cte] Latine dici;³³ aliter docent Laurentius³⁴ et Sypontinus,³⁵ grammatici et rhetores illustres. Rides barbariem nostram in principio meo de me[dicina]. Balbos sum imitatus, nam sic passim est in illorum empiriis.³⁶

Mavis “novemdiale” quam “nondiale”, at ego Plautum secutus sum in Aulula[ria] //: “Coquus ille nondialis est, in no[rum diem so]let ire coctu[m]”.³⁷

²⁸ Cf. Firmicus Maternus, *Mathesis* IV 20, 3: The sixty-third year is most dangerous, because it is the result of the multiplication of seven and nine and “...septeni et noveni anni... gravia pericula hominibus semper indicunt..”.

²⁹ Cf. Gellius, *Noct. Att.* XV 7, 3: “Nam, ut vides, κλυμακτῆρα communem seniorum omnium tertium et sexagesimum annum evasimus”.

³⁰ “scalarii” [= climactericus]: the word is not found in Antiquity in this sense; its variant form “scalaris” was common in humanistic Latin. See R. Hoven, *Lexique de la Prose latine de la Renaissance* (Leiden 1994), p. 322.

³¹ “inquit”: sc. Augustus apud Gellium.

³² “sus Minervam”: cf. Erasmus, *Adagia* I, i, 40 = 40 (*ASD* II 1, pp. 154-156).

³³ “concives”: The word appears for the first time in the *Itala* translation of the Bible and in Tertullian.

³⁴ “Laurentius”: sc. Valla, cf. *Elegantiae* IV, 1: “colliberti a collibertis divisi sunt, ut mei a tuis et conservi a conservis, quemadmodum concives mei a concivibus tuis qui alterius civitatis es”.

³⁵ “Sypontinus”: sc. Nicolaus Perottus; cf. *Cornu copiae* (ed. J.L. Charlet, Sassoferato 1991), lib.1, epig. 2, 203: “item a cive concivis dictus est qui ex eadem qua ego civitate est”. “Sypontinus”: ante corr. “Sypontius”.

³⁶ It is not clear what Vandevalus is saying here. The word “empiriis” is enigmatic. Does he mean “empiricis”, viz. writings on medical experiments (cf. Plin., *Hist. Nat.* XX 120), or simply medical experiments and diagnostics (the Greek ἐμπειρία), the barbarous Latin of which will still be ridiculed by Molière in the seventeenth century?

³⁷ Plaut., *Aul.* 324. Modern editions read “nundinalest”.

Subiungis aliquos malle “in civitate Bruga[rum]” quam “in Bruggensi”; ego aut “in urbe Romana” dicendum puto aut “in urbe Roma”.

Annectis gemmariis vanum³⁸ esse deprehensum hircinum sanguinem adamanta rumpere;³⁹ Symon aurifabros expertos dicit vanum esse non posse alia vi aut arte adamanta frangi atque sanguine, non negare tamen hoc pacto rumpi, modo adamas sit nativus et germanus.⁴⁰ Ego certe saltem molliori puto.

Pro “loisario” notas “lotiarium”:⁴¹ “lotiarium” scriptum invenio.⁴²

Pro “magera”, “megera”⁴³. Scriptum est “μαγεία” per εῖ diphtongon Graecam: eatenus enim super magia nonnihil disputaveramus. Absit a me mordacitas illa acerba: nihil magis odit nostra simplicitas atque huiusmodi tragoedias!

Pro “ἡμέρων” “ἡμερῶν” legis et recte: non [[p]] credideram ita scriptum donec locum inspexissem.

Scrib[er]is non te intelligere de projectione medicinae mineralis. Eam appellant alchymiste Arnoldus⁴⁴ et caeteri fusionem, qua aliquantula pars lapidis philosophici iam perfecti immiscetur corpori plumbi, stanni aut reliquorum metallorum liquefactorum.

Iubes impertiri amicis que gloriosulus⁴⁵ polliceor. Libellum ad te mitto practicum, quem quondam summo furto mihi comparavi ex arcanis

³⁸ “vanum”: ante corr.: “vanam”.

³⁹ The belief that diamonds can be cut with use of goat's blood is mentioned in several classical and humanistic texts. See Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XX 2: “Adamanta, rarum opum gaudium, infragilem omni cetera vi et invictum, sanguine hircino rumpente..”; St. Augustine, *Civ.* XXI 4.4: “Adamantem lapidem..., qui lapis nec ferro nec igni nec alia vi ulla perhibetur praeter hircino sanguine vinci”; Erasmus, *Eccles.* III (*ASD* V 5, p. 84, 629-630): “adamas sanguine hircino vincitur;” Paracelsus, *Coelum Philosophorum* 2 (Translated by A. E. Waide, *The Hermetic and Alchemical Writings of Paracelsus the Great*, 1 [London, 1894 = New York, 1967], p. 17).

⁴⁰ “Symon”: Symon Januensis. See note 24. We could not locate the reference which may be second-hand.

⁴¹ “lotiarium”: not in *ThLL*, but probably a derivation of “lotium”.

⁴² Obviously, and not surprisingly, Cranevelt and Vandevalus had difficulties with each other's handwriting.

⁴³ “magera”: Cranevelt seems to have thought of “Meg(a)era, but Vandevalus had written “μαγεία”, inserting two Greek letters in the Latin word which had misled Cranevelt.

⁴⁴ “Arnoldus”: sc. Arnaldus de Villanova (b. near Valencia? 1235- d. Genua 1311/12), a famous physician to whom several alchemical works were wrongly attributed, i.a. *Thesaurus thesaurorum et rosarium philosophorum*. In the *Rosarium Philosophorum*, a late mediaeval alchemical anthology printed at Frankfurt in 1550, he is called “Arnoldus” (cf. J. Telle - L. Claren, *Rosarium Philosophorum: ein alchemistisches Florilegium des Spätmittelalters*, Weinheim, 1992).

⁴⁵ “gloriosulus”: not in *ThLL*., but common in humanistic Latin. See R. Hoven, *O. l.*, p. 151 and hereafter, p. 66 l. 9.

M<agistri> Jo<hann>is Wuesbrouc,⁴⁶ viri summi in rebus astrologicis et alchymisticis. Senticeta sunt et barbaries verborum, sed in his nonnumquam abstrusa reconduntur, ut scripsit Picus superior ἀπολογικῶς Hermolao Barbaro in causa philosophorum barbarorum.⁴⁷ Si aliqua sit ars transmutationis metallorum,⁴⁸ hanc puto esse quae hic in opus deducitur. Rogas [[f]] etenim identidem luserimne an serio scripserim super alchymia: me hercle, non secus respondere ausim quam super androgyno responderunt deus ille et dea (ut est in lepidissimo epigrammate),⁴⁹ siquidem ipse nondum apud me decrevi quid sentiam.

Admones minimum esse vulgi, coniectura assequi ex “minio” factum esse “minimum”. Vehementer arridet ea lectio, quamquam aliter passim habent exemplaria.

Postremo de Galeni vita citas Suidam;⁵⁰ ais: “ἐβίω, inquit, ἔτη ο’”. In tuam et Suidae sententiam ut discedam, me ipse monet Galenus, qui suarum saepe meminit aegritu[dinum]. Ita legeram apud Sypontinum⁵¹ et nescio quos praeterea.

Vid[es quantop]ere tua abutar patientia, sed boni consules haud difido, [de]syderatissimum musarum daelicism. M<agister> Leonardus⁵² [u]traque lingua anxie doctus [d]ixit [] commendatum []

]

⁴⁶ “Johannes Wuesbrouc”: cf. ep. 103.

⁴⁷ “Picus”: sc. Giovanni Pico della Mirandola in his letter to Hermolaus Barbarus of June 3, 1485, edited in Angelus Politianus, *Epistulae*, 9.4. Vandevalus does not give a literal quotation from this letter, but a summary of its contents (perhaps borrowed from an other source?). Pico is called “superior” to distinguish him from his nephew and biographer Giovanni Francesco (1470-1533).

⁴⁸ “ars transmutationis metallorum”: definition of alchemy; cf. e.g. *Rosarium Philosophorum* (attributed to Arnaldus [see note 44] and printed, for instance, in a collection of alchemical works: *Liber de compositione alchemiae*, s. l. a. [end sixteenth/ early seventeenth c.], p. 279); Paracelsus, *Coelum philosophorum*, 2 (as in note 39), p. 16

⁴⁹ “epigrammate”: not found.

⁵⁰ “Suidam”: sc. Γ, 32 (ed. Adler, 1, p. 506).

⁵¹ “Sypontinum”: A reference to Nicolaus Perottus [Perotti], *Cornucopiae seu Linguae Latinae Commentarii* liber I, epigr. 6 (Belliger invictis), ed. Basel, 1521, c. 555, ll. 14-18 [Modern critical edition by J.-L. Charlet, vol. I (Sassoferrato, 1989)]: “De Galeno tamen medico exploratum est centum et quadraginta annos eum vixisse. Tanta in cibo potuque abstinencia usus est. Nunquam enim ad satietatem comedit aut bibit aut crudum quicquam unquam gustavit, odorificum semper anhelitum spirans, et sine aliquo morbo sola senectute defecit”.

⁵² “Leonardus”: possibly Eleopolus; cf. ep. 86.

A tergo: Eruditionis et morum decoris ornatissimo / viro M<agistro> Francisco Cranevellio Noviomago, / Jurisprudentiae professori⁵³ doctissimo.

Ep. 105. Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges) to L. Vandevalus (Bruges).

105 (no foliation).

<III 1522>

Although preceding it in the bundle (but without a series number) this seems to be an answer of Cranevelt to Vandevalus's apologetical letter 104. The references to the booklet from the collection of Joannes Wuesbroeck and to Eleopolus confirm that the present letter is indeed in answer to letter 104 and not to letter 98.

Cranevelt thanks Vandevalus for his letter and the booklet of Wuesbroeck, which he has not yet digested in full. Cranevelt seems to be looking for excuses for not pronouncing a judgment. He expresses his opinion that the subject (alchemy) is too difficult even if one believes in it, something which Cranevelt does not. He will readily accept Vandevalus's apology as he thinks his own remarks smell of calumny.

In letter 104 Vandevalus calls Johannes Wuesbroeck an excellent master of astrology and alchemy. Although the name is uncommon, no more seems to be known about this man. The expression "ex archanis" is unclear: does it mean Wuesbroeck's private library or his teaching?

Eleopolus — a friend of L. Clodius and L. Vandevalus (see end of letter 88) will be taken under Cranevelt's patronage and the three Leonardi (cf. also *Ep.* 88, ll. 52-53) have already been his friends for some time.

About the edition: Vandevalus should himself decide what is best, but not take Horace's advice, namely, to lay his book away for nine years, too literally (cf. *Hor.*, *Ars* 388). Cranevelt wants to read the booklet over together with Vandevalus before sending it back, but if Vandevalus should need it, it will be returned at once.

Across the sheet on the extreme right of the verso side Cranevelt wrote five lines in French.

Salve, mi [Vande]vale. Habeo tibi gratiam pro tuis illis humaniss<imis> literis et libello ex archanis Wuesbroeck, quem identidem repetens non potui concoquere. Deinde videtur nimia difficultas rei propositae, eciam si porro certa sit fides, quae tamen apud me vacillat.

⁵³ "Professor" does not mean "professor" or "teacher", but indicates that Cranevelt is "doctor (iuris)". Compare the matriculation of Erasmus at Louvain on 30 August 1517: "Magister Erasmus de Roterdammis, sacre theologie professor" (Brussels, Algemeen Rijksarchief, *Fonds Univ. Leuven*, nr. 23, f. 236^r).

De aeditione statues ut libebit, modo non nimis anxie Horatianum
illud novennium concedi tibi postules. Vale et me, ut facis, ama.

Libellum non remitto, priusquam tecum perlegero, id quod per ocium spero brevi licebit. Quod si tibi eo fuerit opus, mittetur actutum. Iterum vale.

Comme le cas est advenu recemment la classe est
le cas alle
le maistre averty (?) de la paresse (?) de lest alla prendre (perdre?)
ses affair
ass par quel moyen il se asseurer (=assurer?) ses previsions (?)
de ...puter demission (?) seroit chose par
perilleuse et dangeureuse

<III/IV 1522>

Several points are obscure or uncertain. First, there is no date. Going by its position in the bundle this note seems to have been written in the last days of

March or the first of April. Vives was then in Bruges, as we know from letter 102 and Allen 1271, written on 1 April. However, the note could be also a reaction to letter 96 of early January, in which Vives indeed omitted to send greetings to Fevynus and promised to write him a letter. If that is correct, the note was misplaced in the collection.

However, there are other problems. Fevynus promises to come to see Cranevelt and to talk about Leonardus and something related to Vives. If Leonardus is the doctor and alchemist Vandevalus, the discussion will have been about his book. But that was possible only some time after 10 February (see letter 98). Another Leonardus was the schoolmaster Clodius, on whom see letters 82-83 (*HL* 43 [1994], 62-64). Fevynus and Cranevelt will also talk about a learned “schedium” of Vives. The reading of “schedium” is partly conjectural, only “sched” being clearly written. Its meaning is also puzzling. Usually it means an extemporaneous poem (but Vives was no great writer of poems), but it can also be a manuscript. Was it a page from the Commentary on St. Augustine which Vives was preparing and for which he repeatedly called upon the help of his friends in Bruges?

S<alutem> [P<lurimam>D<ico>, Domine Cr]aneveldi. Quod acceperis a Vive nostro lite[ras pergra]tum mihi [[gratum]] est; ingratum autem mihi, quod ne verbum ille unquam ad me. Quare etiamsi dissimulas cum in tuis non impertit salutem nobis, suspicor iam tandem scripsisse quiddam. Hoc divinare possum, illud ut dixi multo iucundiss<imum>.

A vesperarum horis absolutis ero domi, id quod soleo, ni remorentur me amiculi. [Alias (?)] ipse te invisam, ac tum de Le<on>ardo¹ et Vivis h[umaniss<imo>] et doctiss<imo> schedio.² Vale.

Tuus Fevynus.

A tergo: D<omi>no suo F<rancisco> Craneveldio.

Ep. 107. Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges) to J. Clement (Bruges).

109 (no foliation).

<before 5 X 1521>

An invitation from Cranevelt to Clement to come to Cranevelt’s house, where More is expected after noon for a cosy chat. At the same time Cranevelt apologises for disturbing thereby Clement’s studies.

¹ “Leonardo”: ms.: “Leardo”.

² “schedio” is a conjectural reading of what looks like ‘schend’ (“sched”, with a long horizontal stroke reaching back from the top of the “d”), which does not make sense. Since “Vivis” is clearly a genitive, the ending must be another ablative depending on “de”.

The letter does not bear a date. Since More is in Bruges it must be placed in 1521 before More's return to England. It follows, therefore, that its position in the bundle among the correspondence of the spring of 1522 cannot be correct. Moreover, it is surprising that it is found in the bundle at all. Had it not been despatched for some reason unknown to us? Or was it, for an equally unknown reason, returned to Cranevelt at a later date?

S<alutem>. [P<lurimam>. D<ico>. Spero (?) mi domi]ne Clemens, ne tibi sim molestus, qui p[arumper revo]cem te ab illo iucundissimo cursu studiorum laborumque tuorum. Danda est tamen hec venia nostrae temeritati, quae perspectis tuis illis suavissimis moribus facturum te quicquid rogeris, facile sibi pollicetur. Venturus est post meridiem D<ominus> Morus ut domi nostrae confabulemur. Illud vero cupio ne tu desis et hunc conventum nostrum facias tua praesentia festiviorem. Vale et me vicissim [ad] quodvis obsequium paratissimo utere.

Tuus Craneveldus.

A tergo: Eruditissimo viro D<omino> / Clementi Britanno,/ utriusque linguae peritissimo.

Ep. 108. Johannes Borsalus (Veere?) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

110 (f. 129)

<Spring 1522>

The right-hand margin and the end of the this letter are badly worn with considerable loss of text, which it is not always possible to restore with certainty.

The author of this letter is the Zealander Johannes Becker Borsalus, whom we already know from letters 23, 24 and 29. As in letter 24 he begins with an apology because he has not written for a long time [as a matter of fact, for more than a year]. It was not due to any diminished friendship but to the burden of his duties (viz. the deanery of Zanddijk near Veere), which oblige him to recite endless prayers in church as well as at home. One task grows out of another and so his activities have no end. What is worse, his priestly office is linked to the court (of Adolph of Burgundy), which means more work and more running about to do, as Fevynus was once able to see. Therefore, he has scarcely any time for himself or his friends, especially the distant ones.

Recently he tried to escape from this position of slavery, when an opportunity presented itself in the shape of the deanery of the chapter of St. Peter's in Middelburg. However he met with a strong opposition at the Imperial Court and he found no support whatsoever, not even from his patrons Lord Adolph of Bur-

gundy and his wife, who were opposed to his leaving them. So he did not dare to challenge his competitor. He will continue living in Veere, hoping that God may give him still another chance, which is rather unlikely because of his age. Borsalus's statement that he is a "quadragenarius" (forty or even in his forties) allows us to put his birth around 1480, which is in accordance with the fact that he came to Louvain as a student in the summer of 1495.

In the autumn of 1522 Borsalus told the same story in a letter to Erasmus (Allen 1321) written on 23 November at Louvain whither he had accompanied Philip, a son of Lord Adolph, at the end of September.

Borsalus does not know how much Cranevelt had heard about the affair, maybe from Henry Zwynghedau, whom he had consulted a couple of times in Ghent. Because of all this, he did not have sufficient time to write, nor to travel to Bruges the previous summer. In fact he did not move at all except to the nearest island (viz. Noord-Beveland).

Greetings from his nephew Jacobus.

On Borsalus and his career see *CE* I, pp. 115-116.

[Johannes Bo]rsalus D<omino> Francisco Craneveldio iureconsulto S<alutem>.

Pudet me nonnihil, humanissime Craneveldi, quod hactenus in scribendis ad te epistolis fuerim negligentior ac segnior, nec semel iterumque provocatus tuis humanissimis literis quicquam responderim, nisi vel aliquot mensibus post, vel cum tua egerem opera, quam tamen etiam parum sic merito [[tamen]] impartisti promptissimam. Verum hoc velim amico credas: neque ex imminuto meo [[amo]] in te amore neque contemptu tui hoc natum silentium tam diuturnum, quin potius ex servitute, quam servio variam ac gravem. Scis enim sacerdotium quo fungor, quam sit hoc tempore minime liberum, praesertim a curis et occupationibus; primum multis ac prolixis preculis¹ horariis oneratum, quas et palam in templo et domi privatim permurmurare² oportet; quicumque hoc iugum subierint, minime hoc rerum st[atu]; deinde qui presit sacerdotum collegio, qui presit gregi Christi satis etiam numer[oso?] sinit perpetua diversis de rebus negocia? Id si ipse non es experientia edoctus, [roga cui] in huiusmodi palestra versari contigerit. Nascitur negotium ex negotio

¹ "preculis": cf. Ducange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, 5, p. 428: 'rosary'. The word also means liturgical hours.

² This verb does not seem to occur in classical texts but in combination with "preculas" it is quite common in northern humanistic Latin. Cf. R. Hoven, *Lexique de la Prose Latine de la Renaissance* (Leiden 1994), p. 260. Compare Erasmus, *Moriae Encomium* (*ASD* IV 3, p. 176, 838): "si preculas illas suas utcunque permurmurarint".

atque [ita fit ut Hydrae]³ more in uno preciso capite secundum hoc malum congeminetur. Ad hec communi[a omnibus morta]libus incommoda, hoc accedit etiam quod aulicum sum nactus sacerdotium, quod⁴ mag[is (ut) Fevinus coram vidit] currere et recurrere compellor. Et aule nomen quando a[udias, nonne hoc] statim vocabulo tibi occurrit ingens molestiarum ac tediorum oceanus? H[inc est quod] minime sum meus, minime sum amicorum, presertim absentium; tametsi mini[me ami]cos amicissimo.

Contenderam hinc me extricare nuper et optimam [Spiritus Sancti cle]mentia viam providerat. Nam ad initium mensis Decembris concordibus om[nium collegarum suffra]giis, via inquam Spiritus Sancti, propemodum, immo initio ipso plane invit[us] [electus]⁵ sum in Decanum S<ancti> Petri Middelburgensis⁶. Sed nescio quis malus genius [mihi in liber]tatem enitenti (nam ibi pre hoc sacerdotio integerrima libertas) [[omnia]] obtulit maxi[mam iniuriam]; prosequutus enim [[litem]] electionem, in aula Cesarea ne unum quidem inveni ex tam m[agno numero] satis propiciu[m], tametsi plurimos tentaverim. Obstitit omnibus meis conatibus indul[tum quod]dam pontificium Cesari concessum. Quod si recte intelligatur, ne tantillum quidem n[ocue]rit. Verum ut alii complures ante me, sic ipse quoque [[vi]] metu quodam compul[sus sum] ad ineundam cum competitore concordiam. Quod autem unum mihi promiseram hac [in re pre]sidium et auxilium, eo sum destitutus: Dominus enim a Beveris⁷ ac domina⁸ etiam eg[re tute]re, quod hinc discedere pararem, tantum abfuit ut hac in re assequenda mihi suffr[agarent.] Itaque depulsus sacerdotio sperato, hic vivere ac servire pergo, donec me Deus alia quavis [portio]ne in libertatem asseruerit, id quod vix sperare

³ "Hydrae" (conj.): cf. Erasmus, *Adagia* I x 9 = 909: "Hydrum secas". (no quotation).

⁴ "quod": one expects "quo", but the abbreviation suggests "quod".

⁵ We have filled the gaps with the help of the very similar passage in Borsalus's letter to Erasmus (Allen 1321), ll. 17-21: "In locum defuncti Decani S. Petri Middelburgensis> omnium collegarum suffragiis sum electus, renitens propemodum et invitus... Eam electionem prosequutus totam Imperatoris aulam mihi expertus sum obsistentem". Since "electus" does not fill the whole second lacuna, possibly the words "et renitens" or something similar preceded the verb.

⁶ "S. Petri Middelburgensis": the oldest church of the capital of Zealand which was demolished in 1834. A chapter was founded in 1310 or 1314 and existed until 1574, when this church was the first to be used by the Calvinists. Cf. A. J. van der Aa, *Aardrijkskundig woordenboek der Nederlanden*, 7 (Gorinchem, 1846), pp. 888-889.

⁷ "dominus a Beveris": viz. Adolph of Burgundy, lord of Veere and Beveren, one of the most important counsellors of Charles V; cf. *Lit. Cran.* 53, l.14 n.; *CE* I, pp. 223-224.

⁸ "domina": viz. Anna van Bergen, who married Adolph on 18 June 1509 (*CE* I, p. 129).

licet iam quadragenario. Nescio [autem] quid hac de re audieris, a magistro Henrico Baliolano⁹ fortasse, quem tum Ganda[vi] agentem subinde consului.

His itaque de causis factum est ut rarius ad te scripseri[m]. Revera, ut scripsi anno superiore, isthuc [venire speravera]m¹⁰, sed nusquam movi pedem [ea ae]state, nisi in proximam nobis insulam¹¹. [Rescribi voluit tibi salutem] Dominus Jacob[us]¹², meus e sorore ne]pos, nobis olim con-victor [Lovan(?)]iens[is

A tergo: Eximio et incorruptissimo iure-/consulto Magistro Francisco/ Craneveldio, consiliario ma-/gistratus ac senatus Brugensis,/ amico singulariter dilecto.

Ep. 109. Th. Morus <[near?] London?> to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges).

111 (f.130)

<III 1522>

Received 6 IV <1522>

More thanks Cranevelt for the letter he has received and for the care Cranevelt bestowed on a painting which More had ordered to be prepared in Bruges. The Holy Virgin (obviously the subject of the painting) will also thank him. More thought that he had left with a friend in Bruges the balance of three crowns, to be paid to the painter when the work was completed. He has now made arrangements so that the sum can be collected from Jan van Porter. A further half crown will be added as a gift if the work proves to be of great quality.

Next follow a few remarks on Bruges. This part of the text is badly damaged at the right side, so that a correct understanding is not easy. More wonders about the meanness of the otherwise extravagant people of Bruges. They spend

⁹ "Henricus Baliolanus": or Zwynghedau, born at Belle in Southern Flanders [now Bailleul in Northern France], a licentiate in canon law and an intimate friend of Cranevelt, was from 1521 an official of the bishop of Tournai at Bruges. He died in that town in March 1532; cf. *Lit. Cran.* 43 and 212.

¹⁰ In letter 29, of 27 January 1521 (*HL* 41 [1992], pp. 82-84), Borsalus expressed the hope of visiting Cranevelt in the following summer. See ll. 8-9: "...spero...ut coram me estate proxima tibi expurgem".

¹¹ "proxima nobis insula": The nearest island to Walcheren, where Veere is located, is Noord-Beveland (entirely swallowed by the sea in 1532 and re-created in the late sixteenth century).

¹² "Dominus Jacobus": cf. letters 23, n. 4 (*HL* 41[1992], p. 66) and 29, l. 39 (*ib.*, p. 84), which we have used to restore the sense, if not the very words of the last part of the letter.

immense sums in some cases and then try to repair the outlay little by little by cutting back where actually some further expenditure should be added. Most probably More is alluding to Cranevelt's unsuccessful request for a better salary and the town council's resolve to reduce it. In October 1522 Cranevelt will explain to Erasmus that this disagreement made him leave Bruges for Mechelen: "Volebant illi (viz. Brugenses) di[urnum] minus dare quam consensent; ego contra plusculum postul[abam]. Ita factum est dissidium" (*Lit. Cran.* 20, ll. 8-10).

Cranevelt, whose character is of other stuff, will have no problem finding a situation that is honest and, so More prays, happy. If Cranevelt wants More's help he should say so and More will do all he can, as if all his own fortune and that of his relatives depended on it.

Greetings to Cranevelt and his wife.

Like the other letters at the bottom of the bundle, this one is also quite damaged at the top, the right side and the bottom.

This letter has been published with a facsimile of the original and an English translation by Cl. H. Miller, "Thomas More's Letters to Frans van Cranevelt", *Moreana* 31, 117 (March 1994), 3-66 (pp. 29-31). In a number of places we restore the gaps in the text in a different way for reasons we explain in the notes.

Litte[ras tuas, mi] charissime Cranevelli, recepi, quae mihi fuerunt ut omnia tua gratissimae. Imaginem meam tibi curae fuisse habeo gratiam. Referet ipsa Virgo¹ quae te exigente [[te]] maiore² cura est absoluta. Reliquos coronatos tres, qui opere perfecto deberentur artifici, credideram me apud quempi[a]m ex amicis istic reliquisse, verum nunc effeci ut recip[erentur]³ a Joanne van Porter⁴ et [[die]] dimidium coronati pr[aemio addam] dono⁵ supra pactum, si opus ostendet meruisse.

¹ Understand: "Referet (gratiam) ipsa Virgo". The Virgin, obviously, is the Holy Virgin, whose portrait More had ordered to be painted. Miller thinks that the painter may have been Jan Gossaert (Mabuse), but that seems unlikely because Gossaert was working in the castle of Duurstede (near Nijmegen) in the years 1517-25.

² "maiore": ante corr. "maioe".

³ Miller proposes "recip[iat]" which seems to short to fill the lacuna, unless More did not fill the line to the end.

⁴ "Joannes van Porter": unknown, his last name could be "Van der Poorte" or "Verpoortere". The form "Van Porter" is not a correct Flemish name.

⁵ Miller proposes "pr[oprio meo] dono". We do not see why More would say that he is giving it out of his own pocket, which is rather obvious. For our own restoration (also hypothetical, of course) we rely on Terence, *Eun.* 1057: "quodvis donum praemium a me optato". One can also restore: "pr[eterea]".

Brug[ensium], mi Cranevelli, mire me commoverunt tantae sordes in tan[ta opum]⁶ prodigentia; qui immensas opes quum in ea consumpserint [expensa (?)]⁷, quae quicquid impenditur perit, unciatim⁸ reparare co[nantur]⁹ ex hiis decerpentes, quibus aliquid potissimum con[veniret]¹⁰ adiicere. Sed hec [[illorum]] ipsorum¹¹ ut vicio, ita etiam malo f[iant]. Nam tibi (quae tua est, mi Cranevelli, virtus et d[iligentia]) nusquam non reperietur honesta condicio, quam et felicissi[mam] precor, et si qua vides per me ad id commodari posse, sic enitar ut fiat ut si omnium necessario<r>um meorum fortunae omnes ac meae quoque ipsius in statu tuo forent collocatae. Vale, charissime Cranevelli, cum uxore matrona omnium optima ac d[ulcissima]; saluta]nt te [uxor m]ea atque omnes mei¹².

A tergo: Viro ornatissimo atque/ eruditissimo D<omino> Francisco / Cranevellio, urbi Brugensi / a consiliis.

Manu Craneveldii: VI aprilis.

Ep. 110. L. Clodius (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges).

112 ([f.131-133])

13 IV 1522

This long letter written by Clodius has been damaged at three edges with loss of text. In this letter Clodius, whose former letters are much influenced by his reverential attitude towards his patron Cranevelt, shows himself an interesting and often witty author.

⁶ Miller supplies only "tan[ta]" which is definitely too short to fill the gap. For our restoration compare Tac., *An.* VI 14: "prodigentia opum", and the following "opes". "Rerum" is another possibility.

⁷ Miller proposes "re", which again is too short. It is hard to fill the gap for two reasons: first, it is not clear whether the preceding "ea" is an ablative singular or an accusative plural; second, it is even less clear how the following sentence is to be construed. If "quae" depends on "reparare" it must be an accusative plural and "quicquid impenditur, perit" an intercalated general reflection. If we take "quae" to be the subject of "perit" it is a feminine singular, but then there is no way to connect it grammatically with "reparare co[nantur]", where the damaged verb must be a plural because of the following "decerpentes".

⁸ "unciatim": supra 'u' atramento levior add.: "v", ut vocalis significetur.

⁹ Miller proposes "coguntur" which is equally possible.

¹⁰ Miller proposes "con[venerit]".

¹¹ "ipsorum": supra lineam.

¹² Miller proposes: "d[iligentissima. Saluta]t te [coniunx m]ea atque omnes mei [?]". We believe that before the final "t" of the verb the stroke of a suspended "n" is still visible. We prefer "uxor" because More used the word also for Cranevelt's wife. Compare also *Lit. Cran.* 115, II. 40-41: "Uxor mea et liberi salutem tibi comprecantur".

He begins his letter by apologizing for the late return of Cranevelt's copy of Lucian. His pupils liked Lucian very much and they translated several dialogues both into their mother tongue and into Latin. After this piece of news, which was the actual reason for writing, he describes what happened at a meal in some citizen's house where he was invited. Apart from the host, his wife and a certain Hadrianus Westhusius, Clodius met there with six Dominicans. Originally only three of them were invited, but being of a rather thrifty disposition, they each brought a companion.

First there was a discussion about the place of honour at the table but after some debate it was decided that it would be given to Father Procurator, the next one to Father Lector and the third to the Father who preaches in St. Donatian's. Then the party started to eat, although this was not the proper expression for the Dominicans: they devoured their meal like vultures and emptied their glasses in quick succession. Theology was not so far discussed at the dinner table (conversation being at the level of the wine) but when everybody was sufficiently full and equally heated by the wine, the time came for scholastic jokes.

At this moment Clodius happened to mention Erasmus, Vives and More, deliberately refraining from speaking about Luther. One of the Dominicans, the Lector, immediately attacked Clodius by asking him whether he too was one of those modernists. A rather fierce discussion followed about humanistic latinity and the ancient Fathers. At last Clodius asked, ironically, whether Thomas Aquinas was a theologian at all. His opponent cursed his feigned stupidity and promised to demonstrate that Thomas was the best theologian of all. Clodius urged a calm discussion as the wine was clearly having some effect, but his adversary would have nothing of the kind. When Clodius asked him to behave, he was seized with rage and called Clodius an ass. Clodius answered that his adversary was a Midas, as he would not call a priest an ass. The other repeated his transforming act and Clodius had to accept his change of essence.

After this discussion, the party had some more wine, too much of it even (the Dominicans paying visits to the bathroom to vomit and then to resume drinking), and a new fight started when the friar announced that he would defeat Erasmus and his whole gang with his book *Ibis*. According to classical science, the ibis had the rather curious custom of purging its inside by putting its beak in its rectum and thus cleaning its intestines with water. Clodius's opinion was that the same would be suitable for a friar who happened to have a rather crooked nose. After that he mockingly assented to everything the poor man asserted, applauded and supported by his fellow Dominicans. It was only when another Dominican, Bartholomew, preacher at St. Giles's, entered the discussion and started jesting too freely and in Flemish at Clodius's expense that the latter reminded him that he risked being chased from that church because his own Lector had been expelled from it after stealing the money collected for a penitent prostitute.

In this manner dinner ended after five hours. Grace was said under rather Bacchic influence. Clodius has told the story to Cranevelt because the day before he had already told it to Fevynus and Vives. The latter said he knew the Lector, a man more vainglorious than the Terentian Thraso. As for himself, Clodius just likes the *bonae litterae* and all scholars and he hates the mendicants. Greetings.

We know that Clodius is the author of a lost school-play *Compendium Epicureae Theologiae* (cf. *Lit. Cran.*, 39, to be added to J. IJsewijn, *Annales theatri Belgo-Latini*, in: J. Veremans (ed), *Liber amicorum Prof. Dr. G. Degroote* [Brussels 1980], pp. 41-55), performed in 1526. This letter is the only text we have from which to get an idea of his literary talents. He certainly had a taste for story-telling and for caricaturing and we can only regret that nothing more has come down to us.

Apart from its contents the letter also presents some linguistic interest. Clodius gives the impression of rendering the table discussion fairly literally. Consequently, some words and phrases are medieval, such as “de via” (l. 48 “school, group, way of thinking”; cf. the term ‘via moderna’ in mediaeval philosophy; the use of “de” is similar to that in the Romance languages: “to belong to”), “fruitus” (l. 106) late Latin, in juridical texts and *Vulgata*; cf. M. Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 2, 2, 1 [Munich, 1977=1926-28], p. 617), “claustraliter” (l. 122; cf. Niermeyer, *Lexicon minus*, p.187) and “odio” instead of “odi” (l. 132; cf. *ThLL*, IX, 2, c. 454 [grammarians, *Itala*]; *Novum Glossarium mediae Latinitatis*, O [Hafniae, 1983], c. 328-329).

Other words cannot be traced in *ThLL* but are normal Latin formations, some of which already appear in mediaeval authors, others in humanistic texts. Such words are: “ampullus” (l. 42, “empty, without sense”; cf. Ducange, *Glossarium*, 1, p. 239; Niermeyer, p.42.), “rudimentarius” (l. 68), “indolere” (l. 79), (instead of “indolesco, perf. indolui”? or comp. pro simpl.?), “gloriosulus” (l. 86) (cf. ep. 104, p. 50: in a letter of another Leonardus, viz. Vandevalus), “rostrus” (l. 97), “verbosulus” (l. 100, cf. Ducange, 6, p. 771 (one example)), “confraterculus” (l. 107, “confrater” in Ducange 2, p. 535; Niermeyer, pp. 244-245) and “magistellus” (l. 108). Finally, there are two puns: “theolongus” (l. 100), a verbose theologian, and “Erasinus” /Erasmus (see note 26).

The (double) date of the letter requires some comment. In fact, Palm Sunday 1522 was on 13 April. The Roman date “Kalendis 18 Maiis”, if properly calculated, corresponds to 14 April. Most probably Clodius forgot that the Romans included the Kalends in their counting. As to the year-date 1521, added by Cranevelt(?) below the address, one must bear in mind that Bruges used Easter style.

[Domino Francisco Cra]nevellio, viro [omnibus (?)¹ arti]culis absolutissimo et patrono unico Leonardus Clodius presbyter².

S<alutem> P<lurimam>. [Lucianus]³ tuus, clarissime vir, postliminio nunc ad te revertitur, quem precor ne tantae morae tu obiurgaveris, qui

¹ The first letter of the lost word seems to be an o.

² “presbyter”: Clodius is nowhere else mentioned as a priest, but the abbreviation (pbr) seems quite clear.

³ “[Lucianus]”: The textual restoration is certain. Not only the horizontal stroke of L survives, but the name is mentioned again a few lines further. Cf. also letter 97, where Cranevelt’s copy of Lucian is returned by Fevynus, clearly another reader of Cranevelt’s book.

neutiquam sit in culpa. Verum quod hactenus apud me moratus sit, tirunculorum est peccatum, quos videbam impense Lucianum amare argumentisque huius maximopere delectari propter variam in eo fabularum novitatem. Nonnullo[s] e Latino in vernaculum⁴ sermonem lepide traduxerunt dial[ogos], eosdemque varia enallage in Romanam linguam utcunque [verterunt]. Eam igitur ob rem ne succenseas precor aut mihi [aut] parvulis, homo omnium multo candidissime; tibi enim haec []⁵ uni debentur studia.

Caeterum pransus nudiusterciu[s apud] civem quendam, ubi erat convivator Hadrianus Wuest[husius]⁶ sacrificulus ille et maritati Cartusii⁷ germanus frater, [et ubi] offendi Dominicanos Praedicatores una nobiscum illic acc[umbentes]. Contendebant inter se de primo accubitu, sed tan[dem] frater Magister Noster Procurator⁸ summum in men[sa obtinet] locum, vir et palato et corpore Epicureus, cui ob sing[ularem] culinae peritiam ac providentiam tribuunt quantum o[]⁹ aut virtutem nulli. Proximus successit Magister No[ster] frater pater Lector De Ligno¹⁰, tercius

⁴ "vernaculum": ante corr. "vernaculam".

⁵ For the sense nothing is really missing. Maybe the worn part of the paper was blank.

⁶ "Hadrianus Wuest[husius]": otherwise unknown; his (anonymous) brother, the Carthusian is mentioned in *Lit. Cran.*, 89, l. 26; another member of this family, Olivier van den Westhuuse, established a mass to be celebrated by the Carthusians, according to his will of 9 November 1521 (cf. *Monasticon Belge*, 3 [Brussels, 1978], p. 1211).

⁷ Cf. Fevynus's description of the man in January 1524 (*Lit. Cran.*, 89, ll. 25-28): "Hic noster ille Westhuzius, sacerdos [monachus] Carthuzianus per vicos obambulat, liberatus a voto, c[um] uxorcula adultera belle se oblectans". He must have been an early case of a monk in Flanders who under the influence of Lutheran principles left his convent (in 1521 or early in 1522) and married.

⁸ "procurator": underlined. Not traceable in printed works. The title "Magister Noster" means that the man was a "doctor theologiae". Perhaps Donatianus Scuten (†1526) is meant, who seems to have been procurator in Bruges for some time. In the Dominican convent of Bruges he is mentioned on 9 May 1505, 19 January 1517 and 21 August 1522. See S. P. Wolfs (ed.), *Acta capitulorum Provinciae Germaniae Inferioris Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum* (The Hague 1964), p. 31, l. 39 and note, where Scuten is mentioned as a *Iubilarius* in 1518.

⁹ "Maybe a genitive of "os" ("mouth") and some word on which it depended is missing.

¹⁰ "lector de ligno": underlined. Iohannes de Ligno or Jan van Houte (†1533) was a "filius" of the Bruges convent, where he received the habit on 15 February 1502 and took his vows in Bruges on 18 June 1506. He was appointed *lector* at the Chapters of Utrecht (1517), The Hague (1518) and 's-Hertogenbosch (1519) and received the privileges of the function at the Chapter of Douai (1520). He is still mentioned as lector at Bruges on 21 August 1522 and 31 July 1523. See S. P. Wolfs, *o.c.*, p. 43, l. 24 and note. A namesake had been *scholasticus* at Bruges in 1484. See A. Himpe, *Studie over het Humanisme aan het St. Donatuskapittel te Brugge*, (unpublished licentiate dissertation, Ghent, 1941) p. 13. At Bruges Van Hout(t)e is a most common name.

applicuit concion[ator] Insulanus¹¹, verbum Dei docens apud aedem Divi Donatiani, vir []¹² ut alienigena, ita et prudentia modestiaque praeter caete[ros] admirabili, reliqui pro arbitrio assidebant. Tres tam[en] invitati erant dumtaxat, verum vide quanta in hiis sit c[aritas]: tres invitati singulos adducunt socios, ut eo parcant [suo (?)] penui.

Nunc prandetur: illi ieiunis dentibus non edeban[t], sed devorabant vulturum plane aviditate. Operi accingim[ur] simul omnes, ego scilicet, hospes cum uxorcula et prodigus n[oster] convivor, sed nihil rei effecimus; illi autem vincebant n[os (?)]¹³ ac genio quisque suo quam potuit religiosissime litabant. H[oc] geminant bis, ter, quater, postea et cantharos. Qui[bus] ego auscultavi bonis ac sanctis patribus iubent ad f[undum] usque epotare! mirum quantis preconiiis Bacchum illum Rhenanum!

Legebantur quoque istoc in refectorio lectiunculae, p[er] Jovem, haud theologicae neque [da ed ?] // poculis dignae fabellae ac nuga[menta ridicul]a anilia vanaque. At ubi plenis buccis paulo largius hausissemus ciboque meroque incaluissemus, ad nugas scholasticas deventum est, et nescio quo argumento Erasmi meminerim, Vivis quoque et Mori (nam de Luthero subticui ex industria); quo nomine in me irruunt inclementius. “Et tu quoque ex illis”, inquit Lector De Ligno¹⁴, “neotericis?” “Non aliter”, inquam, “atque tu sis ex veteribus qui annum agas vix undetrigesimum”. Lector ad haec: “Neotericos volo qui armatum istud et ampullosum loquuntur Latinum. Nos autem ambulamus in nostra simplicitate cum Patribus antiquis”. “Imo”, inquam, “in tenebris cum nebulonibus!” Ille: “Cum nebulonibus? An nebulones sint quos ordo sive Pontifex canonizaverit, quosque theologorum universa turba ceu divos veneratur et adorat, et quorum doctrina et vitae sanctimonia mundum hunc liberavit ab haereseos contagio? Verum te sentio cum caeteris scilicet esse de via...”. “Egon’ de via?” “Tu rursum de via!” “Utranam, Thomae an Scoti?” “Plane neutrius, verum Erasmi et neotericorum, qui ne lectum quidem theologum Thomam ausint opprimere et conantur extinguere”. Ego: “Theologusne Thomas est?” Execratus est homo meam (de industria) stupiditatem: “Theologus is est, cui nullum alium quantumvis apostolicum sive vere christianum praetulero. Mihi super

¹¹ The “concionator Insulanus” must have been from Lille or Rijssel, nowadays in Northern France. He may have been Stephanus de Monte who came from Lille to Bruges in 1517 as master of the novices. See S. P. Wolfs, *o. c.*, p. 25, l. 229.

¹² Here, again, no text seems to be lost in the gap.

¹³ Half of the “n” (?) survives, but only a very few letters can have been lost.

¹⁴ “de Ligno”: underlined.

alios placet sanctissimus doctor, quo uno possem vos omnes convincere, et illum etiam qui nunc surrexit novus Philippus Melanchton¹⁵. “Non satis nosti, pater Lector, quae loquaris: abuteris tua humanitate. Sed vinum, inquam, debacchatur, non tu. Quamobrem minus laeseris, nisi plane charitatem illam exueris, quam tantopere vulgus ex Paulo¹⁶ doces. Quorsum, queso, istaec convicia? Video in te nihil esse candoris, nihil iudicii, nihil esse mentis. Quonam modo tuam reverendam Erasmus offenderit paternitatem (cuculla enim paternitas est, non aetas)? Diligenter animadverte singula, admoneas amanter, non [laceres intem]peranter¹⁷. Si docueris, palinodiam audies, // [nun]c demens Thomista, quo calculo nihil a lenonibus, nihil a scortis infamibus differs. Tuum potius munus esset factiones extinguere belloque impon[ere] pacem. Tu, si quae sit tragoedia, tantum non supplodis, verum eam adornas, auges et adiuvas. Mitionem¹⁸ te praebeas oportet, alioqui male auditurus, et apud rudimentarios pueros”. Rumpitur Lector invidia, ad ins[aniam] pene adactus. “Sile, inquit, sile!” Post nescio quo nu[m]ine hominem me in asinum palam transformavit¹⁹. Obnix[e] ego: “Tu non es asinus, sed Mydas²⁰. Tantum abest u[t] Dei sacerdotem brutum asellum appellem”. Reiterat ille suam in me metamorphosin²¹. Tum ego: “Ubi (iuxt[a te]) bovem non queam²², asinum ago, presertim quum no[verim] asinos ipsos asellos²³ plerumque progignere”, et pleno cyatho litem dirimo. “Sic fiat, inquit, enim iamdiu [] exuritur mihi guttur, potu opus est”.

Sub haec [] fraterculi potabant indulgentius, adeo ut in l[atrinam] a mensa crapulae gratia evomendae clancu[lum] facesserint, redeuntque

¹⁵ “Philippus Melanchton”: the “praeceptor Germaniae” and the humanist assistant of Luther, who at first followed Erasmus but was later more influenced by Luther and by 1521 even became estranged from Erasmus. Cf. *CE*, 2, pp. 424-429.

¹⁶ “ex Paulo”: cf. *I Cor.* 13.

¹⁷ “[laceres intem]peranter”: Cf. Plin., *Ep.* I 5. 3: “Lacerat Herennium Senecionem tam intemperanter”.

¹⁸ Mitio or Micio is the good-hearted tutor in Terence’s comedy *Adelphi*.

¹⁹ An allusion to Apuleius’s famous novel *The Golden Ass*, in which the hero Lucius is turned into an ass.

²⁰ The mythical king Midas of Phrygia was given ass’s ears by Apollo when in a musical contest the king preferred Pan to Apollo.

²¹ “metamorphosin”: ante corr. “methamorphosim”.

²² “bovem non queam”: cf. Erasmus, *Adagia* II, viii, 4 = 1704: “Bovem si nequeas, asinum agas”.

²³ “asinos asellos”: We are not able to find a reasonable explication for this phrase. There is no proverb of this kind either in Latin or in Dutch. Perhaps it existed in the West-flanders or Bruges dialect.

simul ad pocula rursus. Me[us] autem Lector, ubi poculum ame²⁴, ut supra, ebibisset, [ait] “Indoleo, per Deum, vicem vestram. Utinam per ord[inem] liceret! Vos facile dedocuero istam hanc haeresim, [quae] vos per precipitia incautos adigit. Prestarem ego [non (?)] admodum, inquit, poenitenda, si ea mihi, quae tibi, esset [licentia(?)]”. Non potui non ridere hominis theologi ineptissimam arro[gantiam], qui vellet docere ipse indoctissimus. Praeterea admir[atus sum] stoliditatem, quasi scilicet in ordine non liceat vel opt[ima] docere. Comminabatur tamen novam pugnam in q[ua] iam exultavit ceu victor gloriosulus, adversus Eras[mum], Lutherum et praecones omnes. Libello²⁵ namque suo nome[n] ab(?) i[b]i²⁶ indiderat. Ibis autem avis est ciconiae non admodum ab[similis] quae in Aegypto clysteris u[su]m medicis monstravit (?) cum] // rostri aduncitate eam purget part[em] qua corporis excre[ta] exonerat²⁷. “In hoc libro belle Erasinum expediam”. “Erasinum” mediusfidius effu[git]it homuncio! non flumen e Stymp halo²⁸ Arcadiae lacu erumpentem (sic!) praedicans, quasi omnis eloquentia ab ipso promanaret Christo lacu per Roterodamum Erasinum, sed ‘errantem asinum’ asinum innuens. Quae res illi vortat male!²⁹ “Vereor”, inquam, “ne tua ibis quoque

²⁴ “ame”: ama is either a kind of vase (cf. *ThLL* VI, c. 2520) or a measure of contents (cf. Ducange I, p.215). As an “ama” was the equivalent of 150 liters, Clodius slightly exaggerates.

²⁵ “libello”: not traced; it was perhaps never printed.

²⁶ The title of the book (*Ibis*) is partly lost. Only the two “i’s” clearly survive and the upper part of what must have been an “b”. The work itself seems unknown.

²⁷ Cf. Cic., *N. D.* II 126: “Atque illa mirabilia, quod (ea quae nuper, id est paucis ante saeculis, medicorum ingeniis reperta sunt)... purgantes autem alvos ibes Aegyptiae curantur”. Plin., *Hist. Nat.* VIII 96-97 (a text commonly known in the Middle Ages): “Hipopotamius in quadam medendi parte etiam magister exstitit... corpus exonerat.../ Simile quiddam et volucris in eadem Aegypto monstravit, quae vocatur ibis, rostri aduncitate per eam partem se perluens, qua reddi ciborum onera maxime salubre est”. Unless he saw it in a manuscript (which is unlikely) Clodius could not yet know a passage of Erasmus’s *De pueris instituendis* (LB I 496B = ASD I 2, p. 37, ll. 11-12): “Clysteris usum, quem mire probant medicorum filii, monstravit ibis avis Aegyptia”. (first edition: Basel, September 1529).

²⁸ “flumen e Stymp halo”: sc. the Erasinus which according to classical opinion was the outlet of lake Stympalos, but flowed some distance underground (cf. Strabo, VI 275 and VIII 371; Herod., VI 76.1; Paus., II 24. 6 and especially VIII 22.3; Sen., *Quaest.* III 26.4). Clodius explains that the Dominican when making the pun “Erasmus / Erasinus” did not have in mind the classical river name, but a combination of the words “errans asinus”, which he applied to Erasmus. We wonder if, at the end of the sentence, Clodius did not write “asinum” twice erroneously. It would make better sense to write “‘errantem asinum’ Erasmum innuens”.

²⁹ Expression borrowed from ancient comedy; cf. Plaut., *Curc.* 273: “quae res male vortat tibi”, or Ter., *Phorm.* 678: “quae quidem illi res vortat male”.

foedum quiddam oleat ac inepto rostro cloacam quandam aperiat neminem non infecturam. Solent namque rostrosae³⁰ aviculae dissonum cantillare, ut praestiterit siluisse plurimum quam garrivisse paucissimum". Porro codici adfinxit titulum oppido commodum: leviusculus est author Lector, verbosulus³¹, theolongus, insanissimusque et incredulus Thomista³². Nasum praeterea habet apprime aduncum ac mentulo curvo³³ fere communicatum, quem velim, si quando (ut fit nonnumquam in avibus) concrescat Lectoris ibis rostrum, in ibis posticum immersurus penetret, ne illo incommodo dilecta pereat ibis.

Astipulabar quicquid deinceps [[deinceps]] evomeret Lector Midas. Interim bellissime fructus est ille sua insania. Applaudebant ex adverso culinarii³⁴ confraterculi³⁵ et ridebant valde iucundum, ac subinde noster (de quo hactenus nihil nominatim) magistellus³⁶, non bacchalaureus, in Zelandia³⁷ promotus Bartholomeus³⁸, iocatus est in me liberius et facunde quidem ac diserte, sed Teutonice³⁹; quem concionantem aiunt quotidie huius Quadragesimae apud divum Egidium⁴⁰, et ideo admonui caveret sibi exilium a templo illo. "Unde istud?" rogat. "Quod, inquam,

³⁰ The word seems unknown from ancient texts.

³¹ Not ancient either, but in accordance with the humanistic predilection for diminutive adjectives.

³² "incredulus Thomista": pun on the image of the doubting apostle Thomas.

³³ "mentulo curvo": underlined. The diminutive of "mentum" is not found in ancient texts.

³⁴ "culinarii": perhaps as well an allusion to the Erasmian "Latinitas culinaria"; alliteration.

³⁵ Not ancient.

³⁶ For various diminutives of "magister" used by humanists see the lexicon of R. Hoven.

³⁷ "in Zelandia promotus Bartholomeus": obscure. We have not found a proverb of this type. There is clearly some pun on the degree of bacchalaureus. As in Zealand there has never been a university, the significance of a "degree" from that county is evident. There could also be an allusion to the proverbial bluntness of the Zealanders, cf. the Middle Dutch stanza: "Lange pycken,/ Slyckege dycken,/ Ende den taruwen cant:/ Dat syn de bottaerts van Zeeland", quoted by C. C. van de Graft, *Middelnederlandsche historieliederen* (Utrecht 1904 = Arnhem 1968), pp. 4-5; G. Komrij, *De Nederlandse poëzie van de 12de tot en met de 16de eeuw in 1000 en enige bladzijden* (Amsterdam 1994), pp. 322-323.

³⁸ "magistellus Bartholomeus": underlined with the drawing of a hand in the margin. This Bartholomaeus, not mentioned so far, is unknown and must have been one of the Dominicans.

³⁹ Not German ("Deutsch"), but Flemish ("Diets"; cf. English "Dutch").

⁴⁰ "apud divum Egidium": the church of St. Giles in Bruges (a former village incorporated in 1280) North of the parish of St. Walburgis, where Clodius lived, and of the Spiegelrei. In this parish Vives lived afterwards.

Lector iste vester De Ligno⁴¹ suffuratus sit pecuniolam a populo in usum meretriculae peni[te]ntis erogata[m]. Ita, inquam, populo imposuit iste Lector sacrilegus. Re postmodum comperta impostorem a templo submoverunt, atque ita ut pertransire non liceat impune". Sed haec [] Lector, Baccho interturbante, hiis demum // [] prandium, opiparum hercle ac celebre. [Interim nulla fiebat] ieiunii mentio. Dormitabat istic relligio, frigatebat abstinentiae amor, omne denique bonum in altissimam abyssum praecipitabatur. Protractae sunt commessiones per horas quinque continuas. Actae sunt tandem Christo per transennam⁴² gratiae, at bacchic[is] labelis⁴³ et blesis balbisque. Valedictum est undique reverenter et claustraliter.

Habes, gravissime d<omi>ne doctor, meorum Thomistarum gravitatem ac patr[um] veterum modestiam, quam non potui te lateret. Na[m-que] hesterno pomeridie eandem [[fab]] comoediam domino [meo]⁴⁴ Fevino ac praeceptori Vivi. Vives se⁴⁵ hominem aie[bat] novisse [[se]] quovis Thrasone⁴⁶ gloriosiore[m] bullaque ventosa inaniorem.

Quantum ad me attinet, [non] sum in via neque de via huius sive huius, amo [] simpliciter bonas literas et doctos omnes, quos [] doctissimis video nusquam non acceptos. In me [non] tantum est iudicii ut diiudicem. Sentio autem [] secundum veritatem, pestilentem mendicantium [istum] tumultum odio, quem precor Christus compona[t et] in universam pacem conglutinet, in quo⁴⁷ va[le] longum foelicissime.

Brugis, e cubiculo nostro, di[e] Palmarum, Kalendis 18 Maiis, ante Pascha.

Tuus ex animo Clodius.

A tergo: Clarissimo cum natalibus, tum omni / doctrina Patrono, Francisco Craneveld[io] / doctori./ Brugis.

Alia manu in imo angulo dextro: a° 1521.

⁴¹ "de ligno": underlined.

⁴² "per transennam": cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, III, i, 49 = 2049 (ASD II 5, pp. 65-66).

⁴³ "bacchicis labellis": note the deliberate effects of alliteration etc.

⁴⁴ The first stroke of what could be an "m" or an "n[oster]" survives.

⁴⁵ "se": add. supra lineam.

⁴⁶ "Thrasone": the vainglorious soldier of Ter., *Eun.* (cf. e.g. vv. 391-439). No actual representation of the *Eunuchus* in Bruges is known. Clodius himself wrote a school-drama (see introduction to this letter), the school-drama was linguistically influenced by Plautus and especially by Terence. Terence was the first author read as a form in school, so Clodius was sufficiently versed in his comedies and language.

⁴⁷ viz.: Christo.

Ep. 111. J. L. Vives (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges).

116 (f. 135)

<about 20 May 1522>

A note from Vives, slightly damaged on three sides, without an address. From this fact and from the contents, it may be deduced that the letter was written in Bruges. Vives was in this city in May 1522 to see some of his countrymen before they embarked for Spain with the Emperor. The Court was in Bruges from 13 to 22 May and then proceeded to Calais (Gachard, II, p. 32; see also letter 113). During this stay Vives wrote a letter to Erasmus as well (Allen, 1281, cf. *Lit. Cran.* 6, note to l. 11). Our note clearly stems from that period, which explains the allusion to “aulicae molestiae partem”. In his letter to Erasmus Vives also complains about the busy life at Court which leaves him no time for his work on the commentary on St. Augustine.

Vives returns Cranevelt’s copy of Ptolemy (a book not yet mentioned in earlier letters) and expresses his gratitude for the loan of this and other books (cf. letters 79 and 102). Cranevelt will be busily involved in Spanish and other matters, but Vives also had his share of the burden of Court duties. Therefore they have not had much time to give to each other, but as Vives will be staying for another four or five days, he hopes he will enjoy Cranevelt’s company after all. Greetings to Cranevelt and his wife.

The Spaniards alluded to in the letter are, of course, the members of the Imperial Court. Vives’s pun on the Greek words ἐρίους [wool] and ἐρίσι [quarrel], when speaking of the Spaniards, is rather obscure and must have been so to Cranevelt too. This appears from Vives’s next letter to Cranevelt (*Lit. Cran.* 6, from 24 June), in which he came back to the pun. Unfortunately, that part of the letter is heavily worn so that it makes obscurity yet darker. The fact that Bruges was the main centre for Spanish wool exports and even the staple town for that product does not seem to be of importance here. In any case one does not see the relation with the Court.

In the left margin underneath, Cranevelt has added a Latin translation of Vives’s Greek words, half of which has disappeared.

See on the Spanish colony in Bruges: J. Marechal, “La colonie espagnole de Bruges, du XIVE au XVIe siècle”, *Revue du Nord* 35 (1953), 5-40 = J. Marechal, *Europese aanwezigheid te Brugge* (Brugge, 1985), pp. 90-120, 239-251; A. Vandewalle, “Brugge en het Iberisch Schiereiland” in: W. Vermeersch (ed.), *Brugge en Europa* (Antwerpen 1992), pp. 159-181.

Salve, mi Cra[nev]eldi. Redit ad te tuus Ptolemaeus et pro eiu[s] usu] habeo tibi ingentem gratiam, ut etiam pro aliorum usu habeo. Non dubito quin sis et [proximis] his diebus occupatissimus cum Hispanis, αὐτῶν ἐρίους καὶ ἐρίσι et aliis negociis [aulicis (?)]; ego etiam meam sensi huiusce aulicae molestiae partem. Idcirco neutri nostrum licui[t alterum] invisere. Nunc his quattuor aut quinque diebus, quibus hic sum

mansurus, fac [tandem(?)] ut dulcissimis tuis colloquiis fruamur. Vale etiam atque etiam et rem auge¹. Ux[ori] optimae S<alutem>.

Vives toto pec[tore].

*Infra a sinistra, Craneveldi manu: [eorum lanis] et litibus.*²

Ep. 112. <L. Clodius (Bruges) > to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges).

117 (f. lost)

<1 VI 1522?>

Another letter by Clodius, damaged on all sides, but with loss of text at the beginning, the end and the entire right side of the letter. The hand is clearly that of Leonardus Clodius.

As far as the damaged text allows us to understand it, the letter is basically one on behalf of a poor friend. The greater part however serves as a “captatio benevolentiae”.

Clodius begins by apologizing for his frequent correspondence. He refers to the principle that a long silence between friends seldom does any good, but that friendship gains from contact. This is proved by the correspondence of Cicero, Pliny and the “Cicero of Rotterdam” [Erasmus], who all wrote frequently. Therefore he hopes that Cranevelt will forgive his assiduity. Besides, if he seems to become impudent, it is rather Cranevelt’s fault as he led on an unworthy man with benefits bestowed. Clodius is also most grateful for the fact that, thanks to Cranevelt, he and his pupils can daily visit Erasmus, whom he sets above large pearls. We take it that Cranevelt had presented Clodius and his school with a copy of one of Erasmus’s works, or lent him one, such as the *Colloquia* or *Adagia*. Furthermore, Clodius asks to be adopted more or less as a son by Cranevelt, whom he not only holds in high esteem but rather reveres like a god. In the last and heavily damaged sentence Clodius asks for a favour on behalf of an unknown third person, mentioned as the “pauper”, and requests Cranevelt to read his letter and give his judgment on this matter in the margin. Then, if he is successful, the poor man will [do something for Cranevelt] and Clodius will respond, if not with Croesus’s wealth, then with an everlasting friendship.

The date of this letter is, at least in part, conjectural. Its place in the bundle immediately after Vives’s letter of the end of May 1522 (*ep.* 111) [and preceding Vives’s letter of 24 June (*Lit. Cran.* 6)] points to the last days of May or the first of June. If our restoration in the last line: (iu)nii prim[o] is correct, the letter was written on 1 June. The two “i’s” are clearly visible, the “n” only in part,

¹ This seems to be an allusion to Cranevelt’s efforts to be better paid by the town of Bruges or to get an appointment from the Emperor in Mechelen.

² A Latin translation of the Greek words in the letter.

making it clear only that it cannot be “[Iu]lii”. However, the possibility that the letters are the remnants of something other than the date cannot be ruled out entirely, especially since Clodius usually put a Roman date at the end of his letters (see letter 110 and *Lit. Cran.* 36)

[S<alve> hum]anitas. Frequenter usuvenire videmus cu[m apud] oratores plurimos, tum Ciceronem ac Plinium praecipue Roterodamumque Tullium ut diuturnum i[n]ter] amicos silentium non admodum probetur, quod nonnumquam eo languescat amicitia, mutuis alioqui aut litera[rum] aut officiorum collationibus valitura semper. Eam [itaque] ob rem sedulitatem meam non admodum damnaveris, si [parum] mihi apud tuam celsitudinem caveam, quod tantop[ere] in amicis summi non laudavere viri, nisi fort[asse] effrontem meam nimis explicem impudentiam, qui [me] tuorum catalogo et ultro et immeritum adiungam. []. Porro si hinc quidquam impudentis labis contrax[ero], tuum erit id, quicquid est peccati, non meum, q[uod] hominem vel prorsum inanem multiplici beneficio in] amorem pellexeris. Unde tibi ingentes habe[o gratias] totidem quot messis aristas¹, verum hoc calculo [?] quod visendi Erasmi quotidianam cum mihi, tum dis[cipulis] omnibus feceris potestatem, cui spectaculo ne m[aximos] quidem uniones pretulero.

Proinde quando ita vi[detur] tibi ut tu tantus (quem non solum suspicio max[ime], sed vice numinis cuiusdam lubens recolo) hom[inem] infimum diligere voles et amare, cupio cum apostol[o rogare]² non modo ut ames, verum totum me tibi facias [familiarem (?)] et adoptes in filium. Caeterum si das usum mi[hi] huius, hanc opellam mihi propter pauperrimum a[micum(?)] impendas atque chartulam istanc perlectites³ semel a[tque in] margine tuum adpingas super casibus inscrip[tum] iudicium, quod pro oraculo exosculabimur. Pollic[etur] pauper iste se (si triumphet) tuis responsurum lat[], sed ego semper, si non Craeseis divitiis⁴, animo cer[te ... per]petuo. V[ale] lit[/ mensis Iu]nii pri[mo]

¹ “quot messis aristas”: cf. Ov., *Met.* XI 614.

² “cum apostolo”: maybe an allusion to St. Paul, *Rom.*, 13, 8 and 10: “Nemini quidquam debeatis, nisi ut invicem diligatis. Qui enim diligit proximum, legem implevit....; Dilectio proximi malum non operatur. Plenitudo ergo legis est dilectio”. (We thank R. Truman for this suggestion).

³ The verb is not found in ancient texts, but it is used by Erasmus. See R. Hoven, *Lexique*, s. v., p. 260.

⁴ “Craeseis divitiis”: Croesus’s wealth has been proverbial since Antiquity; cf. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter*, p.98-99; Erasmus, *Adagia* I vi 74 = 574 (Croeso ditior). “Croeseus” (not in *ThLL*, only “Croesus”, one example in Martianus Capella) is a latinization of Κροίσειος.

[tuus ex animo Clodius]⁵

A tergo: Absolutissimo omnium Literarum / doctori, d<omino> Francisco / Cranevellio, Patrono suo / et Moecenati Largissimo./
Brugis.

Ep. 113 H. Bothe (Middelburg) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges).

115 (f.134)

< VI?> 1522.

As we know scarcely anything of the background of this letter except what it tells us, much of its contents remains obscure. The author, H. Bothe, a priest (if our restoration of the signature is correct!) from Deventer is not much better known, unless he is the same man as “Magister Hadrianus Borttus” (?), a priest and “fiscalis procurator” who attended a meeting at The Hague in August 1522 (See G. Geldenhauer, *Collectanea*, ed. J. Prinsen [Amsterdam 1901], p. 58). He obviously was in Zealand and Flanders on business and staying with fellow clerics. His origin in the Eastern Low Countries is evident from the peculiarities of the Dutch used for the address which contains forms typical of the Eastern dialects (e.g. ‘und’ instead of the Brabantian and Flemish ‘ende’ [and]). Furthermore, he seems to be acquainted with Geldenhouwer, who went to school in Deventer and whom Bothe may have met there (cf. J. Prinsen, *Gerardus Geldenhouwer Noviomagus*, pp. 12-14).

The author has heard that the Emperor had arrived in Calais and from there proceeded to London. This, quite clearly, refers to Charles Vth’s journey to London in late May 1522, where he was formally welcomed in the city by Th. More on 6 June (Hall’s *Chronicle*, I, 250; Harpsfield, *Life of More*, ed. Hallett, p. 26).

Bothe had hoped to conclude some business with the Emperor and for that reason had left a sum of money with Cranevelt. Now he is afraid of being frustrated in his hope. He begs Cranevelt now to return his money or, if he thinks it better, to keep it until he knows for sure whether the Emperor has given his signature [for a matter unstated] at Calais or not. As he is laid up with fever himself, Bothe could not come to Cranevelt in person, but if Cranevelt thinks it would be wise to go to London, he will do so, in spite of his physical condition.

If Bothe was a priest indeed, the business for which he needed the Emperor’s signature and had to pay a fee, was in all likelihood an ecclesiastical preferment. One can compare this with Borsalus’s endeavours to obtain the deanery of Middelburg (See letter 108).

⁵ We have restored the lost signature, *exempli gratia*, with the help of letter 110.

Geldenhouwer is not there at present, otherwise he would have recommended Bothe in a letter of his own. Greetings from Adrianus Cordatus and greetings to Cranevelt's family.

Adrianus Cordatus was a humanistically-minded canon of St. Peter's at Middelburg, and a good friend of Geldenhouwer's: cf. *Lit. Cran.* 71; *CE* 1, pp. 338-339. This letter proves that Cordatus and Cranevelt knew each other well before March 1525 (vs. *Lit. Cran.* 71, note to l. 10).

The fact that Bothe had heard in Middelburg of the Emperor's departure from Calais to London indicates that the end of May 1522 is the earliest date possible. The day is less easy to define: the phrase "die d[ominica] 'mutare vocem'" may refer to a liturgical text of the mass, beginning with these words (*Gal.* 4, 20), but so far we have not been able to find such a mass. Moreover, the reading "mutare" is far from certain. The mass of the fifth Sunday after Easter, which would be on 25 May, begins with "Vocem iucunditatis" but that seems too far from Bothe's quotation.

S<alutem> plu[rimam, reverendissim]e d[omine] doctor et patrone obs<ervandissi>me. Intellexi Ces<aream> Ma<iesta>tem Calisium ad-venta[sse], istinc solvisse et Londinum adnavigasse. Quare suspicor etiam vehementer me frustratum spe negotii mei confecti. Rogo igitur obnix v[elis] saluti et honori meo consulere ac, ut sanius in hoc negotio tibi visum fu[erit], nummos apud te depositos cum praesenti nuntio remittere, aut apud te reservare, [dum] certior factus fueris, signaverit Caesar Calisii necne. Ego nisi febriculo[sus] decumberem, ipse te adiissem. Attamen si consulueris, Londinum mox con[cedam] cum maxima sanitatis mee iactura.

Noviomagus¹ non adest, alioquin me et [mea] tibi suis commendasset literis. M<agister> Adrianus Cordatus te salutatur. Bene v[ale, vir] prudentissime, cum coniuge et filiis dulcissimis.

Middelburgi, die d[ominica] "mutare² vocem" ecc<etera>. Anno 1522.

Humilis tuus servulus,
H. Bothe S[acerdos (?)]
Daventrien<sis>.

Manu Craneveldii in imo angulo sinistro: Remisi ei per hanc literam pecuniam omnem, uti mihi concredita fuerat, annumeratam.

¹ Viz. Gerardus Geldenhouwer, Cranevelt's good friend from his youth and a correspondent.

² We have serious doubts about the reading of this word ("mutatur" seems also to be possible) but cannot offer a better solution.

A tergo: Den werdigun und hoechgeleerden meyster / Ffranciscus Cranenvelt, pensionarius / der stede van Brugge, mynen by/sunders lieven hern.

Ep. 114. Fr. Cranevelt (Brussels) to J. van Dongelberghe (Brussels?).

114 (no f.)

29 IV 1523.

This letter and the following letter were written by Cranevelt in Brussels in April 1523. It is clear, therefore, that they were at some time misplaced in the bundle, as they really belong among the letters of the collection edited by De Vocht (*Lit. Cran.*). The two letters seem to be closely connected and they were both directed, obviously on the occasion of a journey to Brussels, to lawyers who do not occur otherwise in the correspondence but were nevertheless old acquaintances of Cranevelt. Another question is why these letters, apparently originals and not copies, are found in Cranevelt's archives. Did he, after all, not send them off?

Both letters are badly worn with considerable loss of text.

As far as we can understand from the letter, Dongelbergius and Cranevelt had known each other for several years but contact seems to have grown rather infrequent. Cranevelt first ponders on the vicissitudes of life, for which the medicine is to be found in philosophy. He seems to say that he has not yet found a haven, maybe an allusion to the fact that, during his first months in Mechelen, he had not yet a house of his own.

Other people may envy someone's happiness but Cranevelt does not. He hopes Dongelbergius will be happy with his wife and children, to whom Cranevelt is totally devoted. For them as for Dongelbergius, anything is readily done.

Finally Cranevelt mentions the case being brought by his mother-in-law, which should be recommended by Dongelbergius to a councillor (probably of the Brabant Council as all this takes place in Brussels and Cranevelt would have known him if he had been a member of the Mechelen Parliament): Cranevelt is not well acquainted with that man and thinks that Dongelbergius's authority is the greater.

Jacobus van Dongelberghe (†1 IX 1523) was a barrister of the Brabant Council: cf. J. Nauwelaers, *Histoire des avocats au souverain conseil de Brabant* (Brussels 1947), 2, p. 8. Perhaps he may be identified with the Jacobus de Donghebert de Thenis ("Tienen") who was matriculated as an Arts student at Louvain university on 31 August 1498 (*Paedagogium Lili* / Lily College; cf. A. Schillings, *Matricule*, 3, p. 174, n. 192). He was buried in St. Michael's Cathedral (formerly St. Gudula's Church) in Brussels.

[]me(?), quod te post tot annos v[idi / magnam cepi
volupt(?)]atem. ipse per multa variaque vite [discrimina iact]atus neque

adhuc portum aliquem conse[cutus sum]. Sed hoc fatum nostrum moderatione quadam animi et [studio (?)] bonarum artium facimus aliquanto levius, cum harum p[erturba]tionum omnium medicina ex ipsa philosophia petenda [sit]. Alius fortassis invideret aliene felicitati; ego plane s[pero (?)] tibi esse volupe cum suavissima uxore et optimis [liberis], quibus ego me, quantus quantus sum, totum dedo, ut [nihil omnino] sit neque tam magnum neque tam difficile quod non tua [vel etiam] illorum causa facile mihi videatur esse suscipiendum. []

Hinc confecto negocio, cuius gratia veneramus, iamiam [proficiscor (?)]. Commendo tibi causam socrus¹ ut illam commendes consiliar[io De] Hert (?)². Nam ego hominem vix de facie novi et plus [quam mea apud] illum tua valebit autoritas.

Vale dimidium [anime] mee³. Bruxelle, 29 Aprilis a<nn>o XXIII.

T<uae> D<ominationis> deditissimus⁴ servus

Francis[cus Craneveldius]

A tergo: Ornatissimo viro Magistro / Jacobo Dongelbergio U<triusque> Iuris / Licentiato amico primario.

Ep. 115. Fr. Cranevelt (Brussels) to Balthasar van Vlierden (Brussels).

113 (no f.)

29 or 30 IV 1523.

This letter, like the preceding one, dates from the end of April 1523 and was written in Brussels in Cranevelt's own hand. See introduction to letter 114.

Cranevelt wrote it when he was about to leave Brussels (presumably for Mechelen): consequently its date must be either April 29 (as was the case with ep. 114) or April 30, depending on the restoration of the lost part of the date: x[xix] or x[xx].

Although this letter looks badly damaged, the loss of text is rather slight except at the beginning.

Cranevelt expresses his gratitude to Van Vlierden and returns a piece of the latter's clothing which Cranevelt had been allowed to use. He adds that Van

¹ "socrus": Catherine, Baronesse of Helmont (cf. *Lit. Cran.*, XL and XLIII; she is mentioned in *Lit. Cran.*, ep. 15 and 26).

² If this word was read correctly, it must be the name of the counsellor. A name such as De Hert is perfectly well possible.

³ Cf. Hor., *Carm.* I 3.7: "Et serves animae dimidium meae".

⁴ "deditissimus": ms. "dededitissimus".

Vlierden should employ him and his belongings as his own. He sends his regards to Van Vlierden's wife and children who possess the same qualities as their father. He is writing in haste and is already dressed for leaving.

Balthasar van Vlierden was born in Oirschot, a small country-town in Brabant (now in the Dutch province of Noord-Brabant, a few miles to the west of Eindhoven). The mansion of the patrician family van Vlierden, just north of the town, is no longer extant. Balthasar registered in Louvain on 5 May 1495 (cf. A. Schillings, *Matricule de l'Université de Louvain*, 3, p. 129, n. 4) in the *Paedagogium Falconis* (Falcon College) and passed his examinations as *primus* in 1498. Afterwards he studied law while teaching the arts in his old college, where Cranevelt was possibly one of his students. He stayed in Louvain till at least 1505. Later he became a barrister of the Brabant council (like Dongelbergius) and died on 6 February 1528. See E. Reusens, *Documents relatifs à l'histoire de l'Université de Louvain (1425-1797)*, t. 4 (Louvain, 1886-88), p. 392; *Lit. Cran.*, p. XXXV; J. Nauwelaers, *Histoire des avocats*, 2, p. 15; M. Verweij, "Oirschot en de Leuvense universiteit", in: H. J. M. Mijland et al. (edd.), *Oog op Oirschot* (Oirschot, 1991), pp. 158-189 (on Balthasar van Vlierden: p. 164 and p. 173, n.22).

[Tibi habeo gratia]s quantas possum maximas pr[o / tua singular]i benivolentia. Remitto vestem qua sum usu[s] ut mea; tu vicissim meisque rebus utere non aliter ac tuis ut iuxta veterem illam paroemiam: Amicorum omnia sunt communia¹. Placebit [me] commendare dulcissime conthorali² et suavissimis liber[is], quorum indole sum mirum in modum delectatus. Videntur enim paternum ingenium ac genuinam probitatem facil[e] imitaturi.

Vale et me, ut facis, ama.

Brux[elle], iam accinctus ad abeundum festinans scripsi. X[XIX] Aprilis anno XXIII - †cum voluptate† (???)

T<uae> D<ominationi> deditissimus amicus

Franciscus Craneve[ldius].

A tergo: Ornatissimo viro Magistro / Balthasar de Vlierden U<triusque> I<uris> / licentiato, amico integerrimo.

¹ "paroemiam": cf. Ter., *Ad.* 803; Cic., *Off.* I 51; Sen., *Ben.* VII 12, 1: this proverb was ascribed to Pythagoras. See Otto, *Die Sprichwörter*, p. 20; Erasmus, *Adagia*, I, i, 1 = 1 (*ASD* II 1, pp. 84-86). Vives used its Greek form in letter 38, l. 7 (*HL* 42 [1993], 20-24).

² "conthorali": wife [cf. English "bedfellow", Dutch "bedgenoot"]; not in *ThLL*, but common in mediaeval and humanistic Latin. Cf. Du Cange, t. 2, p. 568; R. Hoven, *Lexique*, p. 84.

Ep. 116. Th. More (London) to Fr. Cranevelt (Mechelen)

49 (f. 220)

8 XI 1528

More writes to Cranevelt in Mechelen to thank him for his letter which he received via Hackett.

Sir John Hackett (†1534), courtier and diplomat, ambassador of the English King to the Imperial Court at Mechelen (1526-1530), where Margaret of Austria was regent at the time. Cf. Elizabeth F. Rogers, "Margaret of Austria's gifts to Tunstall, More and Hackett (1529)", *Moreana* XII (1966), 57-60; *The Letters of Sir John Hackett 1526-1534*, ed. E. F. Rogers, Archives of British History and Culture, I-II (Morgantown, West Virginia, 1971), passim. There seems to be no reference to Cranevelt in Hackett's letters.

More expresses his relief that Cranevelt can live in peace again and hopes that the Christian world may enjoy a general peace. The "restored peace" may be an allusion to the truce which was signed in June 1528 at Hampton Court between England and the Emperor (cf. Léonard, *Receuil des Traitez*, II, pp. 337-41), but it may equally well refer to the end of some troubles in the Netherlands. The war between the Emperor and Francis I was still going on and would end only a year later with the Ladies' Peace at Cambrai (3 August 1529).

In addition, More compliments Cranevelt on his thorough acquaintance with Homer and his excellent rendering of Homeric verses into Latin. More is referring here to Cranevelt's Greek and Latin epitaphs on the death (1525) of Martin Dorp, with the Greek version entitled *Centon Homericus*, first printed in Erasmus's *Ciceronianus*, Basel, Froben, 1528 and reprinted at Paris by Simon de Collines, in June of the same year. Both epigrams are in De Vocht, *Lit. Cran.*, p. LXXIV. Cf. the comments of Vives, Erasmus and Fevinus in *Lit. Cran.* 185, ll. 1-11; 261, ll. 31-32; 260, ll. 8-10.

Finally, More sends his best wishes for the journey of Cranevelt's wife [Elisabeth van Baussele] and concludes with some jokes about married life. Cranevelt had once written to him that it is pleasant sleeping in a bed without one's wife. But, More says, that is true only for the first nights of the wife's absence. Then desire creeps back and sleep loses its pleasure, unless the wife has left a substitute servant. Cranevelt's wife, he thinks, has been so wise as to take all the maidservants with her.

Schulte Herbrüggen and Miller connect the absence of Cranevelt's wife with the death of her mother Catherine, Baroness of Belmont, and the arrangements to be made for the inheritance. This is rather unlikely. Catherine had already died in May at Louvain. One can hardly imagine that Cranevelt did not accompany her to the funeral or that she would stay five months and more in Louvain because of her inheritance. After all, Mechelen and Louvain are only 25 km. apart and communication was easy enough. More does not express any sympathy either, which he could not have omitted to do if Cranevelt had told him that the reason of the journey was family mourning. Quite the contrary, he is joking, which would have been totally out of place.

This letter is foliated 220, although our bundle only runs up to f. 135. The date, established by Cranevelt's addition "received 22 Nov. anno '28" and the references to the restored peace and Cranevelt's Homeric verses (published in 1528) clearly place the letter in the second bundle, edited by De Vocht and ending with folio 219. Apparently it was removed from this second bundle at a certain moment and inserted erroneously in our bundle.

The letter has been edited twice (with facsimiles of the original and an English translation) since its discovery in 1989. The first edition was prepared by H. Schulte Herbrüggen, "Seven New Letters From Thomas More", *Moreana* XXVII, 103 (Sept. 1990), 49-66 (p. 61), the second by Cl. H. Miller, "Thomas More's Letters to Frans van Cranevelt", *Moreana* XXXI, 117 (March 1994), 3-66 (pp. 13-15).

Misit ad me vir clarissimus D<ominus> Hakkettus, serenissimi regis nostri orator apud vos, literas tuas quae mihi tam iucundae fuerunt, quam eius esse par est, quo non alius esse potest animo meo charior. Paci vobis redditae vehementer gratulor. Atque utinam aliquando liceat gratulari publicae, cuius desiderio iam diu christianus orbis affligitur.

Gaudeo te sic homericum esse factum, ut versus eius ad quidlibet tam commodum tibi subserviant, quos tamen ita Latinos fecisti, ut Grecis nulla parte sint¹ cessuri.

Coniugi tuae, matronae plane primariae, faustum iter et negociis ex sententia confectis celerem precor redditum. Quamquam olim meministi scripsisse mihi iucundissime dormire [[e]] in eo lecto, qui uxore vacet. Sed hec sunt verba maritorum primis noctibus ab amandatis uxoribus; nam reliquis obrepat desiderium et, nisi vicariam reliquerit uxor, sompnum insuavem reddit. Tuam puto, qua est prudentia, pedissequas omnes avexisse secum.

Vale, vir omnium dulcissime. Londini, VIII Novembris

Quantulus est ex animo totus tuus

Thomas Morus eques

A tergo: Viro virtute et literis / ornatissimo D<omino> Francisco / Craneveldio Cesareae / maiestati a consiliis / Mecliniae.

Manu Craneveldi: R<ecep>^{ta} XXII Novembris.A.º 28.

¹ Miller erroneously reads "sunt".

² "te": added above the line.

Sabine SCHMOLINSKY

BIOGRAPHIE UND ZEITGESCHICHTE
BEI ENEA SILVIO PICCOLOMINI:
ÜBERLEGUNGEN ZUM TEXTTYP VON 'DE VIRIS ILLUSTRIBUS'*

Silvester 1463 schloß Enea Silvio Piccolomini seine 'Commentarii' ab; sie begründeten seinen Ruf als Biographen seiner selbst in den verschiedenartigsten und vielfältigsten Bezügen zu der ihn umgebenden Welt, und es ist oft festgestellt worden, daß Enea — oder vielmehr: Pius II. — eigentlich ein Panorama der europäischen Zeitgeschichte schuf, das in einer bisher so nicht gekannten Fülle die Darstellung der politischen Entwicklung und seiner eigenen Rolle darin mit Beobachtungen aller Art verband: mit geographischen Darstellungen und historisch-kulturgeschichtlichen Abrissen, mit Städtebildern, Anekdoten — und eben Porträts und Lebensbeschreibungen von Zeitgenossen.¹

Der rhetorisch-stilistischen Tradition seit der Antike entsprechend hielt auch Enea biographische Schilderungen für Formen der Geschichtsschreibung, und er verwendete sie vornehmlich in historiographischen Texttypen: abgesehen von den erwähnten 'Commentarii' und kurzen Charakterisierungen in Briefen inserierte er Personen- und Lebensbeschreibungen vor allem in seinen Darstellungen des Konzils von

* Überarbeitete Fassung eines Beitrags auf dem zweiten Internationalen Kongreß der Fifteenth-Century Studies in Perpignan, 2.–7. Juli 1990.

¹ Zuletzt zusammenfassend mit Literatur: Franz Josef Worstbrock: "Piccolomini, Aeneas Silvius", in: *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*. Zweite, völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage hg. von Kurt Ruh. Bd. 7 (1989), Sp. 634–669. Weitausgreifend und den Politiker und Papst in all seinen Facetten beleuchtend hat Arnold Esch Eneas Selbstdarstellung vorgeführt: "Enea Silvio Piccolomini als Papst Pius II.: Herrschaftspraxis und Selbstdarstellung", in: *Lebenslehren und Weltentwürfe im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit. Politik — Bildung — Naturkunde — Theologie. Bericht über Kolloquien der Kommission zur Erforschung der Kultur des Spätmittelalters 1983 bis 1987*. Hg. von Hartmut Boockmann, Bernd Moeller und Karl Stackmann. Red. von Ludwig Grenzmann, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Phil.-hist. Kl., 3. Folge, 179 (Göttingen 1989), S. 112–140.

Basel, in der 'Historia Australis' (in drei Redaktionen 1453/54-1458 entstanden) sowie in der 'Historia Bohemica' (im Juni 1458 beendet).

Das biographische Genus beschäftigte Enea jedoch auch als eigenständige Form, in der ein einzelner Text nicht in den Bezügen eines Geschichtswerks zu interpretieren ist. In der Vatikanischen Handschrift Lat. 3887, einem Autograph Eneas aus der Piccolomini-Bibliothek in Siena, haben sich auf den Folien 39^r-89^r 43 Lebensbeschreibungen unterschiedlicher Länge erhalten, die er offensichtlich als ein Werk des Typs 'De viris illustribus' verstanden wissen wollte.² Dies geht aus einem seiner Marginaleinträge zu seiner an den Kardinal Juan de Carvajal gerichteten Briefabhandlung über das Basler Konzil in derselben Handschrift³ sowie aus zwei Briefen von 1444 und 1450 hervor: "cui (= Niccolò Piccinino) et nunc epitaphium ederem, nisi quod nunc librum de viris illustribus evi nostro (recte: nostri) compono ..." ⁴ und: "ego illi (= Albertus marchio Brandenburgensis) inter viros illustres nostri temporis, de quibus modo tractatum cudo, non infimum locum servavi atque idcirco silendum inpresentiarum decrevi".⁵

² Der ältere Druck des Literarischen Vereins bot 42 Viten: Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomineus, qui postea Pius II. P.M. *De viris illustribus*, Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart 1 (Stuttgart 1842). Die 43. veröffentlichte Hermann Diener: "Fridericus dux Austriae Ernesti filius aus *De viris illustribus* des Enea Silvio Piccolomini", *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 28 (1986), S. 185-208; der Beitrag ist — auch inhaltlich — den Literaturangaben im Verfasserlexikon (wie Anm. 1, Sp. 656) nachzutragen. Er fehlt bei Adrian van Heck (Hg.): *Eneae Silvii Piccolominei postea Pii pp. II de viris illustribus* (Città del Vaticano 1991), S. VI und besonders S. XI, da dieser nur in einem Nachtrag (S. XIII-XIV) abweichende Lesungen berücksichtigen konnte. Paolo Viti: "Osservazioni sul *De viris aetate sua claris* di Enea Silvio Piccolomini", in: *Pio II e la cultura del suo tempo. Atti del I convegno internazionale — 1989*. A cura di Luisa Rotondi Secchi Tarugi, Mentis itinerarium (Milano 1991), S. 199-214 kennt Dieners Edition nicht und arbeitete vor Hecks Ausgabe; zu Vat. lat. 3887 vgl. S. 202. Die Viten 'De Ladislao rege Poloniae', 'De Erico Stetinensi' und ein kleiner Absatz aus 'De Sigismundo Imperatore' sind aus dem Druck von 1842 abgedruckt in: *Scriptores rerum prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preußischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft*. Hg. von Theodor Hirsch, Max Töppen und Ernst Strehlke. Bd. 4 (Leipzig 1870. Unveränd. Nachdr. Frankfurt a.M. 1965), S. 239-241.

³ Diener (wie Anm. 2), S. 187 und 191-192.

⁴ Brief an Giacomo de Castro Romano, 28. November 1444, in: *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*. Hg. von Rudolf Wolkan. 1. Abt. 1. Bd., *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, Zweite Abt., 61. Bd. (Wien 1909), S. 452.

⁵ Brief an Bischof Johann von Eichstädt vom 23. Juli 1450, in: *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*. Hg. von Rudolf Wolkan. 2. Abt., *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, Zweite Abt., 67. Bd. (Wien 1912), S. 163. Eine solche Vita findet sich weder unter den erhaltenen Biographien noch in Eneas eigenhändig geschriebenem Verzeichnis (vgl. Diener [wie Anm. 2], S. 188-189, Anm. 31 und van Heck [wie Anm. 2], S. IX). Vielleicht besteht ein Zusammenhang mit dem von Diener ermittelten *terminus ante quem* der Niederschrift: 26. November 1449 (Diener [wie Anm. 2], S. 193). Van Heck (wie Anm. 2)

Sollte also die Sammlung nach Eneas Vorstellung ein “liber” oder sogar ein “tractatus” werden, so muß jegliche Interpretation sie zunächst als selbständiges Werk ins Auge fassen und nach dessen Strukturen fragen. Es wird sich zeigen, daß dem Autor gewisse Auswahlkriterien und Ordnungsprinzipien vor Augen standen, die das seit Georg Voigts Aussage von dem Werk “ohne sonderliche Ordnung” geltende Urteil⁶ widerlegen.

Eneas Vorstellungen vom Corpus der aufzunehmenden Personen und seine Gliederungsabsichten lassen sich den erhaltenen Texten entnehmen und mit Hilfe eines von ihm eigenhändig auf den Rändern des letzten Blattes (92^v) des Kodex notierten Verzeichnisses weiter rekonstruieren. Dessen Interpretation ist allerdings durch den paläographischen Befund erschwert: Enea schrieb seine Namenslisten in Blöcken auf den unteren und den linken Blattrand neben den Schriftspiegel. Dem überlieferten Textbestand zufolge notierte er zunächst quer am unteren Rand zeilenweise Namen, setzte links oben in einem mit den Texten nur abschnittsweise übereinstimmenden Block fort und schrieb dann wieder im unteren Teil der Seite zwischen ursprünglichem Text und dem quer gelegten Block von außen nach innen. Zuletzt, vielleicht nachgetragen — oder zuerst? — könnte ein auf den Kopf gestellter Block am linken Rand entstanden sein. Dieser enthält Namen, für die keine Biographien überliefert sind. Allerdings zeigen sich Unstimmigkeiten im Verhältnis zum Textbestand: die Namen des Bernardinus Senensis, des Thomas Fulgosius und des Albertus dux Austrie Alberti filius (Albrecht II.) fehlen.⁷

nimmt als *terminus ante quem* die Kalenden des Januar 1450 (S. IX) und als *terminus post quem* das Jahr 1445 (S. X) an.

⁶ Georg Voigt: *Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini, als Papst Pius der Zweite, und sein Zeitalter*. 3 Bde. Bd. 2 (Berlin 1862), S. 324. Gerhart Bürck: *Selbstdarstellung und Personenbildnis bei Enea Silvio Piccolomini (Pius II.)* (Basel und Stuttgart 1956), S. 79-80. Jüngst hat Viti erste Hinweise zur Strukturierung gegeben: “un quadro di storia contemporanea attraverso una serie di profili” und die Einteilung in italienische und ausländische “uomini illustri” gezeigt (wie Anm. 2, S. 199 und 202).

⁷ Der bei van Heck (wie Anm. 2, Tab. 1) nur in kleinen Resten erkennbare Eintrag am oberen linken Blattrand lautet nach Diener (wie Anm. 2, S. 189, Anm. 31) “Fridericus dux Austriae Hernesti filius”. Daß auch dieser Albertus in den Indices fehlt, vermerkt van Heck (S. VIII) nicht. Viti (wie Anm. 2, S. 202-203, Anm. 16) nennt nur die Namen der erhaltenen Lebensbeschreibungen in der Reihenfolge des Drucks von 1842; allerdings identifiziert er Jacoba dux Olandie fälschlich mit “Giacomo duca di Olanda”, so daß er nur zwei statt richtig drei Frauen in Eneas Corpus zählt (ebd.). Die Duplizierung des “Alfonsus” (rex Aragonum, vgl. Diener [wie Anm. 2], S. 188-189, Anm. 31) läßt sich vielleicht mit einem Sprung Eneas von einer Spalte zu einer neuen erklären. — Nicht zitierte lateinische Namensformen folgen der Schreibung van Hecks.

Sowohl der Bestand der erhaltenen Biographien als auch bis zu einem gewissen Grade Eneas Verzeichnis zeigen, daß der Verfasser seine berühmten Zeitgenossen und -genossinnen zunächst in Italiener und Nicht-Italiener einteilte: im Verzeichnis finden sich 42 italienische und 22 bzw. 23 ausländische Namen;⁸ im Text kommen zwei italienische Viten und eine ausländische hinzu. Eneas nächstes Kriterium ist sozialer Natur und läßt sich auf Grund der Auswahl vornehmlich am umfänglicheren italienischen Teil beobachten: die Dargestellten sind von höchsten ständischen Rängen bis zu niedrigeren geordnet. Ob allerdings die mittelalterlich übliche Reihenfolge der weltlichen vor den geistlichen Repräsentanten einen Einfluß ausübte, hängt von der Bewertung jener auf 92^v links kopfüber gestellten Liste ab: Hermann Dieners Reihenfolge bei der Lesung der Namensblöcke — in Teilen erklärbar durch den Druck von 1842 — suggeriert unbegründet, daß sie auf Viten am verlorenen Anfang des Werks verweise; Adrian van Heck behauptet dies ebenso unbegründet für den Schluß des Werks.⁹ Wenn man nicht über des Autors Angewohnheiten, beim Notizenmachen Bögen zu drehen, spekulieren möchte, so muß man nach Plausibilitätsgründen für die eine oder andere Lesung des Verzeichnisses suchen.

Die Namenslisten selbst sind wenig hilfreich, denn keiner der Blöcke ist völlig homogen in sich; nur die erwähnte nationale Einteilung läßt sich meistens erkennen. Sie ist auch der Grund, jene Liste — mit Diener — am Anfang des Werkes zu vermuten: italienische Namen von “Ladislaus rex Sicilie” und “Johanna regina Sicilie” bis zu “Angelottus Fuscus” lassen sich weniger sinnvoll bei Ludwig von Württemberg und Johannes Žižka, den letzten Namen im erhaltenen Textbestand, anfügen als vor den auf 92^v unten quer geschriebenen Namen von “Angelus Corrario” an plazieren. Unter dieser Annahme erscheint Eneas Sammlung als nur am Anfang unvollständig und zeigt zudem eine gewisse Binnenstruktur.

Dem Verzeichnis zufolge¹⁰ setzte Enea nach dem König und der Königin von Sizilien mit drei “duces” aus dem mailändischen Haus der Visconti fort; sechs Kardinäle sowie ein Advokat und ein Kleriker, deren Anwesenheit beim Basler Konzil sie in Eneas Blickfeld gerückt

⁸ Ludwig von Württemberg und sein Bruder Ulrich sind in einer Beschreibung erfaßt. Vgl. Diener (wie Anm. 2), S. 189, Anm. 31 (vgl. Anm. 7); van Heck (wie Anm. 2), S. 106-107.

⁹ Diener (wie Anm. 2), S. 188-189, Anm. 31. Van Heck (wie Anm. 2), S. VII.

¹⁰ Van Heck (wie Anm. 2), S. VII-VIII; Diener (wie Anm. 2), S. 188-189, Anm. 31.

haben dürfte, schlossen sich an. Es folgten die vier Päpste der Konzilszeit: “Angelus Corrario, Baldassar Cossa, Oddo de Columna, Gabriel Condulmario” sind Gregor XII., der Gegenpapst Johannes XXIII., Martin V. und Eugen IV. Bei den nächsten neun Kardinälen beginnt beim drittletzten, Johannes de Tagliacozis,¹¹ die Reihe der erhaltenen Texte. Daher läßt sich als gemeinsames Merkmal der drei folgenden, sonst ganz unterschiedlichen Lebensläufe des “Nicolaus Siculus” d.i. Panormitanus, “Bartholomeus de Vicecomitibus” und “Ludouicus Pontanus” ihre Teilnahme am Konzil erkennen. Sie bietet Enea Gelegenheit zur Darstellung seiner eigenen Rolle in Basel, die ungefähr die Hälfte der Lebensbeschreibung des Bartholomeus, seines damaligen Dienstherrn, füllt und in den Bericht seines Parteiwechsels von Papst Felix V. zu Kaiser Friedrich III. mündet;¹² in keiner anderen Vita räumt Enea sich selbst eine derartige Präsenz ein.

Mit Nicolaus Piceninus beginnt eine Reihe italienischer Militärs und Stadtherrscher, die nach Cosmus de Medicis in eine Gruppe gelehrter Humanisten übergeht. Im Verzeichnis führt Enea Leonardus Aretinus (Bruni),¹³ Marianus Sozinus, Johannes de Imola und Bartholomeus de la Capra auf; in den Texten erweitert er die Lebensbeschreibungen Brunis und Sozzinis um Namen und kurze Darstellungen zahlreicher anderer humanistischer Gelehrter und Dichter. Er selbst gerät dabei zunehmend in den Blick, indem er als Ohren- und Augenzeuge die Leistungen der Genannten mit eigener Erfahrung belegen und sich gegebenenfalls als ihr Schüler erweisen kann. Die Zeugenschaft kann auch zu abwertenden Urteilen führen wie im Falle des Johannes de Imola: “hunc Imole uidi in domo sua, cum Patauium irem nec uidisse uoluisssem; minuit enim presentia famam; nam homo is erat, qui in scriptis totus esset, ...”.¹⁴

¹¹ “Amator studiorum est ...” beginnt der letzte Satz der Beschreibung (van Heck [wie Anm. 2], S. 2, Z. 13); man kann also schließen, daß Enea diesen Text vor dem Tod des Kardinals 1444 schrieb. Eine solche Datierung steht in Widerspruch zu van Hecks mit begründeten Argumenten ermittelter Datierung des gesamten Werkes (s.o. Anm. 5). In ähnlicher Weise müßten auch die anderen Viten untersucht werden.

¹² “... nec enim uolui statim de parte ad partem transire.” (van Heck [wie Anm. 2], S. 6, Z. 21).

¹³ Viti, der die zweite Hälfte seines Beitrags der Lebensbeschreibung Brunis widmet, benützt die Edition aus Vat. lat. 3887 bei Massimo Miglio: “Biografie e raccolte biografiche nel Quattrocento italiano”, *Atti dell’ Accademia delle Scienze dell’ Istituto di Bologna. Classe di scienze morali* LXIX, Rendiconti 63 (1974-1975) fasc. I, S. 196-199 (wie Anm. 2, S. 206, Anm. 28).

¹⁴ Van Heck (wie Anm. 2), S. 42, Z. 22-24.

Über eine solche Einschätzung hinaus vermag Enea nur noch weitere berühmte Lehrer an dessen Universität Bologna aufzuzählen.

Eneas bisher so bewußt strukturiert erscheinender „*liber*“ enthält jedoch in diesem Bereich der italienischen Gelehrtenviten zwei Einschübe, die keinerlei Reflex in seinem Verzeichnis hinterlassen haben: Bernardinus Senensis ist mit einer ziemlich langen Vita zwischen Bruni und Sozzini bedacht und Thomas Fulgosius erscheint zwischen Johannes de Imola und Bartholomeus de la Capra. In lebhaften Farben schildert Enea Bernardinus als heiligmäßig lebenden Franziskaner strenger Observanz, dessen außerordentliche Befähigung zur Predigt und prophetenhafte Eloquenz tiefgehende Wirkungen bei den Zuhörern hervorbrachten und sogar einen Enea bewogen, sich kurzfristig als einen fast zum franziskanischen Ordensleben Bekehrten darzustellen. „*Eloquentia Dei*“, die er auch an den Schülern des Predigers hervorhob, sicherte diesem einen Platz unter den humanistischen Gelehrten nahe dem Sienesen Sozzini.¹⁵ Die Einordnung des Thomas Fulgosius, eines „*dux*“ von Genua, unterliegt offensichtlich einem anderen Kriterium; mit dem ihm folgenden Bartholomeus de la Capra¹⁶ dürften ihn die zeitweilige Herrschaft in Genua und die Gegnerschaft des Filippo Maria Visconti verbinden.¹⁷

Die Reihe der italienischen „*viri illustres*“ endet hier. Die folgenden Viten beschäftigen sich mit europäischen Herrschern der Zeit, wiederum ihrem Rang entsprechend geordnet von den Kaisern bzw. Königen Sigismund, Albrecht II., Friedrich III. bis zu Karl VII. von Frankreich und dem Herzog Amadeus von Savoyen (als Papst Felix V.) sowie den Königen von Aragon, England, Kastilien, Portugal, Schottland und Polen; einige Herzöge schließen sich an. Herzog Albrecht VI. von Österreich bietet Enea Anlaß, auf eigene Schriften zu sprechen zu kommen: in einer an den Schluß gestellten Kurzbiographie des kaiserlichen und herzoglichen Rats Wilhelm von Stein erwähnt er den berühmten Brief ‘*De natura et cura equorum*’, dessen Adressat Wilhelm war, „*ut eam duci Alberto exponeret*“, und er berichtet von einem Prosa-Äsop, um den man wohl Eneas Werkverzeichnis erweitern muß: „*is quoque dux rogatum*

¹⁵ Van Heck (wie Anm. 2), S. 37-41; Zitat S. 40, Z. 9.

¹⁶ Am Ende dieser Vita erwähnt Enea eine Predigt vor einer Mailänder Synode, die er habe halten dürfen „*quamvis nondum sacris essem ordinibus initiatus*“ (van Heck [wie Anm. 2], S. 45, Z. 10); das bedeutet, daß Enea diesen Text nach seiner Priesterweihe 1445 oder, wie van Heck (wie Anm. 2, S. X) argumentiert, 1446/47 im Zeitraum der folgenden Weihen verfaßt hat.

¹⁷ Van Heck (wie Anm. 2), S. 43-45.

me fecit, sibi ut fabellas Esopi in prosam redigerem; nam metricas non plane intelligebat. cui parui libens”.¹⁸ Als letzten *vir illustris* behandelt Enea den böhmischen Hussitenführer Jan Žižka. In die Gruppe der Herzöge hat der Autor sowohl in seinem Verzeichnis als auch in der Sammlung zwei hohe Geistliche eingeschoben: Petrus de Luna, als Papst Benedikt XIII.,¹⁹ und Alfonsus Sancti Eustachii cardinalis; Gründe für diese Anordnung werden nicht deutlich.

Zweierlei fällt an der nichtitalienischen Vitenreihe auf: sie enthält keine Gelehrten — sei es, daß Enea niemanden für wert erachtete, sei es daß derlei Biographien zu einem nicht mehr dokumentierten Teil gehörten oder gehören sollten —, und sie umfaßt drei Frauen, von denen zwei, Maria dux Borgundie und Jacoba dux Olandie, ihrer Stellung entsprechend eingeordnet sind, während Barbara imperatrix, die Frau Kaiser Sigismunds,²⁰ nach Maria von Burgund eingeschoben ist. Das dürfte seine Ursache darin haben, daß Enea ein gemeinsames Thema in ihrer beider Leben verfolgt zu haben scheint, nämlich den — durchaus unterschiedlichen — Umgang mit der Position und Macht einer Herrscherin durch Heirat. Auch Jacobas Leben wird von ihren Ehen ausgehend erzählt, aber der Bericht ist vor allem an den politischen Zusammenhängen orientiert.

Der inhaltliche Rahmen der Frauenbiographien wirkt mithin enger gesteckt, als der der meisten Männerbiographien, aber auch unter ihnen gibt es Texte, die nur wenige Charakteristika ihres Objekts erfassen. Denn so sehr Enea den seit der antiken Biographie traditionellen rhetorischen Mustern verpflichtet ist, so sehr erweitert er die Freiheiten in deren Anwendung, indem er — ohne daß sich dies anders als mit der vermuteten Vorläufigkeit seiner Niederschrift begründen ließe — nie alle Positionen seines in der Abstraktion erkennbaren Schemas ausfüllt: Herkunft, Aussehen, Charakter oder Eigenschaften, gegebenenfalls Ehen, Ausbildung und Begabung, Stellung und berufliche Laufbahn,

¹⁸ Van Heck (wie Anm. 2), S. 102, Z. 7-9.

¹⁹ Felix V. und Benedikt XIII. widerlegen die — wohl Voigt (wie Anm. 6, S. 324) entnommene — Aussage Worstbrocks im Artikel des Verfasserlexikons (wie Anm. 1, Sp. 656), keine Papstbiographie liege vor; dem widersprach schon Bürck (wie Anm. 6, S. 79).

²⁰ Ihrer beider Tochter “Elizabeth”, “... de qua suo loco dicetur”, wird im Rahmen der Vita ihres Mannes, König Albrechts II., kurz charakterisiert. Van Heck (wie Anm. 2), S. 91, Z. 20, S. 55, Z. 23-25 und S. 58, Z. 7-9; vgl. S. 72, Z. 21 “de quo suo loco dicemus” in Bezug auf Heinrich V. von England, zuvor ausgesprochen in der Vita Karls VII. von Frankreich, sowie S. 94, Z. 12 zu “Vlricus”. Zu den Frauenviten vgl. Bürck (wie Anm. 6), S. 140-146.

auffällige Leistungen, gegebenenfalls Tod, *studia* und Anteil am Humanismus, vielleicht noch andere Gelehrte desselben Faches oder derselben Universität. Auch die klassische Unterscheidung nach *personae publicae* und *personae privatae* findet sich weder als Darstellungsmuster noch als Gliederungskriterium des intendierten “*liber*”.²¹

Daß dieser nach bestimmten und bestimmbaren Ordnungsprinzipien konzipiert worden ist, hat die Durchsicht des Verzeichnisses und der Viten in der Reihenfolge der Handschrift gezeigt. Gelegentliche Querverweise lassen erkennen, daß Enea zumindest die Biographien des zweiten Teils über die nichtitalienischen Zeitgenossen in entsprechender Weise nacheinander verfaßt hat. Dennoch läßt sich der Status seines fragmentarischen Werkes, der Grad der Vollendung, nicht eindeutig festlegen: vielleicht muß man den überlieferten Bestand der ‘*Viri illustres*’ für ein Konzept, ein Arbeitsexemplar oder die Materialsammlung zu einem geplanten “*liber*” oder “*tractatus*” halten; möglicherweise ließe sich ein Bezug zu den anschließend notierten Briefen und Briefkonzepten sowie den zahlreichen Marginalien Eneas herstellen.²²

Über die Feststellung und Beschreibung seiner Auswahl hinaus bleiben offene Fragen: wenn sogar ein mit langjähriger Auslandserfahrung und internationalen Beziehungen versehener Mann die von ihm als berühmt geschätzten Zeitgenossen noch in Landsleute und Ausländer unterteilt, warum umfassen dann diese beiden Kategorien nicht dieselben Berufsgruppen, d.h. insbesondere: warum fehlen Gelehrte bei den Nichtitalienern? Warum nennt Enea keine bedeutenden italienischen

²¹ Vgl. Jozef IJsewijn: “Die humanistische Biographie”, in: *Biographie und Autobiographie in der Renaissance. Arbeitsgespräch in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel vom 1. bis 3. November 1982*. Vorträge hg. von August Buck, Wolfenbütteler Abhandlungen zur Renaissanceforschung 4 (Wiesbaden 1983), S. 1-19, hier S. 7-8: IJsewijn zeigt, wie sich im Humanismus seit Petrarca (*Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Francesco Petrarca*. Bde. 1-2,1 und 10-14. Bd. 2: *De viris illustribus*. Ed. crit. per cura di Guido Martellotti. Vol. 1. [Firenze 1964]; sowie in: *Opera que extant omnia*. 4 Bde. Bd. 1. [Basel 1554. Republ. Ridgewood, N.J. 1965], S. 551-558) die Tradition der *Viri illustres* aus der Gruppe der *personae publicae* ableitet. Der für die italienisch-volkssprachliche Tradition erwähnte Vespasiano da’ Bisticci bildet Gruppen, die denen des Enea ähneln: “I. Pontefici, re, principi sovrani. II. Cardinali. III. Arcivescovi, vescovi, prelati, e religiosi. IV. Uomini di stato. V. Letterati”. (*Vite di uomini illustri del secolo XV. scritte da Vespasiano Fiorentino contemporaneo*, Spicilegium Romanum 1 [Rom 1839. Photo-mech. Nachdr. Graz 1972], S. XLV-XLVIII).

²² Diener (wie Anm. 2), S. 190 und 193. Van Heck (wie Anm. 2, S. VIII-IX) spricht von einem “*exemplum libelli*” in Vat. lat. 3887 und vermutet auf Grund der geringen Anzahl von Verbesserungen, daß diesem ein anderes “*exemplum*” vorausgegangen sei (wie Anm. 2, S. X). Vgl. Viti (wie Anm. 2), S. 202.

Frauen? So groß sind die Defekte der Überlieferung nicht, daß sie derlei Fragen gegenstandslos erscheinen ließen.

Will man Eneas ‘Viri illustres’-Sammlung im Rahmen seines Oeuvre würdigen, so muß man den Bezügen zu seinen Geschichtswerken nachgehen, in erster Linie zur ‘Historia Australis’ und zur Geschichte des Basler Konzils, insbesondere in der revidierten Fassung, in der Enea sie als umfängliche Briefabhandlung 1450 an den Kardinal Juan de Carvajal schickte, zumal Enea selbst durch eine Marginalnotiz eine Verbindung herstellte. Allerdings höbe man heute nicht so sehr die farbigen, Wahrhaftigkeit erzeugenden Charakterisierungskünste Eneas hervor, wie dies Gerhart Bürck 1956 getan hat, sondern untersuchte die funktionale Rolle der Lebensbeschreibung im Rahmen der historiographisch-zeitgeschichtlichen Darlegung und vergliche unter diesem Aspekt die Differenzen bei Beschreibungen derselben Person in verschiedenen Werken.

Wie groß auch immer der Anteil des nur Skizzenhaften, des an historiographischer Verwendbarkeit orientierten Entwurfs sein mag, so bleibt doch festzuhalten, daß Enea seinen “liber” mit einem durch jahrhundertalte Traditionen festgelegten Namen²³ bezeichnete, der geeignet war, der Sammlung einen katalogartigen Charakter zu verleihen. Der Buchtyp der *Viri illustres* war wohl erst durch Hieronymus, der sich dabei auf Sueton²⁴ beruft, auf einen Schriftstellerkatalog beschränkt und zugleich mit christlichem Inhalt gefüllt worden.²⁵ Seine Fortsetzer Gennadius von Marseille und Isidor von Sevilla führten ihn als Kirchenschriftstellerkatalog fort; Ildefons von Toledo nahm jedoch auch nicht literarisch ausgewiesene

²³ Richard H. and Mary A. Rouse: “Bibliography before print: the medieval ‘De viris illustribus’”, in: *The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture. Proceedings of the Oxford International Symposium 26 September — 1 October 1982*. Hg. von Peter Ganz, *Bibliologia* 3 (Turnhout 1986), S. 133-154. Eneas Werk wird nicht erwähnt, da Werkverzeichnisse behandelt werden.

²⁴ Zum Problem des Sachtitels von Suetons nur fragmentarisch überliefertem Werk über die römischen Schriftsteller vgl. Rudolf Blum: “Die Literaturverzeichnung im Altertum und Mittelalter. Versuch einer Geschichte der Biobibliographie von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn der Neuzeit”, Sonderdruck aus: *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 24, Lieferung 1-2, 1983 (Frankfurt a.M. 1983), Sp. 66-69; zum Sprachgebrauch im 15. Jh. vgl. Sp. 168.

²⁵ Hieronymus und Gennadius: *De Viris Inlustribus*. Hg. von Carl Albrecht Bernoulli, Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen- und dogmengeschichtlicher Quellenschriften 11 (Freiburg i.B. und Leipzig 1895. Nachdruck Frankfurt 1968). Hieronymus: *Liber De viris inlustribus*. Gennadius: *Liber De viris inlustribus*. Hg. v. Ernest Cushing Richardson, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 14, 1a (Leipzig 1896). *Hieronimi de viris inlustribus liber. Accedit Gennadii catalogus virorum inlustrum*. Hg. von Wilhelm Herding (Leipzig 1879).

Kirchenmänner auf, sofern sie Spanier waren.²⁶ Unter dem Einfluß von Suetons Caesarenbiographien verwandelte Petrarca 'De viris illustribus' wieder in eine Vitensammlung berühmter, für das — römisch-antike — Gemeinwesen bedeutender Männer.²⁷ Boccaccio erweiterte den thematischen Rahmen, indem er in seinen Schriften 'De claris mulieribus' und 'De casibus virorum illustrium' auch Frauen und Männer des Mittelalters — im Fall der Männer auch seiner Gegenwart — behandelte.²⁸

Eneas fragmentarischer "liber" mag in dieser Tradition zunächst als konsequente Fortführung sich abzeichnender Tendenzen erscheinen: Einheitlichkeit und Geschlossenheit des Werks erhöhen sich durch die Beschränkung auf eine Kategorie, eben die berühmter Zeitgenossen. Gerade dies bedeutet jedoch einen radikalen Bruch mit der Tradition, denn der Autor bedarf theoretisch keiner anderen Quellen mehr, als seiner eigenen zeitgeschichtlichen und persönlichen Kenntnisse und Wahrnehmungen, die im Umkehrschluß stark aufgewertet werden: zeitgenössisches Wissen und Erfahrung erhalten Rang und Dignität historiographisch verbürgter und über lange Zeiten überlieferter Wahrheit. Der Sammlungstyp *De viris illustribus* wird unter Eneas Händen zu einer Gattung der Zeitgeschichtsschreibung mit dem Ziel, individuelle Lebensläufe in ihren spezifischen Leistungen und Charakteristika erzählend zu beschreiben.

Anders als in den Schriftstellerkatalogen gleichen Titels von Hieronymus über Sigebert von Gembloux²⁹ bis zu Johannes Trithemius³⁰ hat

²⁶ Zu Hieronymus Blum (wie Anm. 21), Sp. 98-113, zu seinen Fortsetzern Sp. 113-130. Ebenso Walter Berschin: *Biographie und Epochenstil im Mittelalter*. 2 Bde. Bd. 1: *Von der Passio Perpetuae zu den Dialogi Gregors des Großen*, S. 146-149; Bd. 2: *Mero-wingische Biographie. Italien, Spanien und die Inseln im frühen Mittelalter*, S. 182-186, Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters 8 und 9 (Stuttgart 1986 und 1988).

²⁷ Walter Berschin: "Sueton und Plutarch im 14. Jahrhundert", in: *Biographie und Autobiographie in der Renaissance* (wie Anm. 19), S. 35-43, hier S. 37-38.

²⁸ Vgl. Bürck (wie Anm. 6), S. 75-76. Diese zweite Linie der 'Viri illustres'-Tradition verfolgt James Weiss in seiner Studie über Johannes Fichardus' Sammlung humanistischer Biographien nicht und erwähnt mithin auch nicht Eneas — z.T. für seine Fragestellung einschlägiges — Werk: "Johannes Fichardus and the Uses of Humanistic Biography", in: *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Turonensis*. Hg. von Jean-Claude Margolin. 2 Bde. Bd. 1, De Pétrarque à Descartes 38 (Paris 1980), S. 263-275. Zu Boccaccio Ricarda Müller: *Ein Frauenbuch des frühen Humanismus. Untersuchungen zu Boccaccios 'De mulieribus claris'*, Palingenesia 40 (Stuttgart 1992. Zugl. Diss. Saarbrücken 1991).

²⁹ Robert Witte: *Catalogus Sigeberti Gemblacensis monachi de viris illustribus. Kritische Ausgabe*, Lateinische Sprache und Literatur des Mittelalters 1 (Bern, Frankfurt a.M. 1974), S. 103-106.

³⁰ Vgl. Klaus Arnold: *Johannes Trithemius (1462-1516)*. Zweite, bibliographisch und überlieferungsgeschichtlich neu bearbeitete Auflage, Quellen und Forschungen zur

sich Enea kein Denkmal am Ende gesetzt. Er braucht dies auch nicht zu tun, da er in auffälliger Weise in den Biographien präsent ist, wenn seine Anwesenheit, sein Erleben die Authentizität des Berichts verstärken können. Dadurch gerät, besonders in den Gelehrtenviten von Leonardus Aretinus bis zu Bartholomeus de la Capra, ein Element des Autobiographischen in sein Werk, das den Texttyp Vita in einer Sammlung verändert und erweitert.

Vergleicht man unter diesem Aspekt Eneas Viten berühmter Männer und Frauen mit seinem eigentlich autobiographischen Werk, den ‘Commentarii’, und hier insbesondere mit deren erstem Buch über Eneas Werdgang vor dem Pontifikat, so läßt sich zeigen, daß Enea in seinem in der dritten Person gehaltenen Lebensbericht sowohl seine Eindrücke als auch die Darstellung der ihm begegnenden Zeitgenossen wesentlich mehr in historiographische *narratio* auflöst als innerhalb der gewissermaßen ‘objektiveren’ Gattung Biographie.

Solche Überlegungen verraten jedoch bereits die neuzeitliche Folie: die Autobiographie als persönliches Zeugnis und Dokument im Gegensatz zur abstrahierenden Biographie zu betrachten, ist in der Rückübertragung unhistorisch, unhistorisch auch noch im Blick auf Enea Silvio Piccolomini, der durch sein Werk in so vielen Punkten neue Seh- und Schreibweisen gelehrt hat.

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IN DEFENSE OF “THEOLOGIZING HUMANISTS”:
AURELIO BRANDOLINI’S “IN SACRAM EBREORUM
HISTORIAM...PREFATIO”

In 1526 Noël Béda, a prominent member of the faculty of theology at Paris, coined the term *humanistae theologizantes* (“theologizing humanists”) to denote scholars like Desiderius Erasmus and Jacques Lefèvre, who had dared to edit, expound, paraphrase, or translate Scripture without due authorization.¹ The arguments he advanced against them — they did not have a doctorate in theology, literary criticism should not be applied to the scriptural text, it was sacrilege, if not heresy, to change the Vulgate wording — were well rehearsed by that time. They had been brought against a number of prominent biblical scholars, from Lorenzo Valla and Gianozzo Manetti to Antonio Nebrija, Jacques Lefèvre, and Desiderius Erasmus. All of them had answered their critics, echoing (and indeed, citing) the apologetic prefaces of St. Jerome, who had been exposed to similar accusations before them. By the end of the 15th century a standard line of defense had emerged. The humanists argued that they were wrongly labelled innovators — they were in fact restoring the text to its pristine condition. The revisions suggested by them did not imply criticism of the original, inspired author, but merely corrected mistakes introduced by an ignorant translator or inattentive scribe. Their new versions were not designed to replace the official version used by the church or at universities, but intended for private study. Stylistic embellishments added by them did not vitiate the message of the Bible — on the contrary, they made this message more palatable and persuasive and gave it the dignity it deserved. Aurelio Brandolini’s apologetic preface to his “*Epithoma in sacram Judeorum historiam*”, which dates from the late 1400s, is a representative example of the humanist line of defense. The text transcribed below and the parallels given in the notes, supply

¹ Cf. below, note 13.

the historical context to a debate that unfolded in the 15th century and continued with renewed vigour in the 16th century against the backdrop of the Reformation.²

Aurelio Lippo Brandolini (c. 1454-1497) was born in Florence,³ but moved to Naples as a boy, when the family found itself in straitened circumstances. As a young man, Brandolini made a name for himself as a poet and teacher of the humanities. Moving to Rome around 1480, he enjoyed the favour of Sixtus IV and his successor Innocent VIII, as well as the patronage of several prelates, among them Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini (later Pope Pius III), to whom the text below is addressed. Brandolini was associated also with Pomponio Leto and the Roman Academy, pursuing his antiquarian and philological interests in that scholarly circle. In 1489 he left Rome for the court of the Hungarian king, Matthias Corvinus. After the King's death in 1490 he returned to Italy, teaching rhetoric at Pisa and Florence. The following year he became a member of the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine near Florence. He died of the plague in 1497, while visiting Rome. Brandolini left a collection of poems, a number of essays and orations, translations from Pliny, and textbooks on grammar and style. His best-known works are *De comparatione reipublicae et regni* and *De humanae vitae conditione*. His epitome of the historical books of the Bible is extant in manuscript only. The following is a transcription of the apologetic preface preceding the "Epithoma" (ms. Bibl. Vat. Ottob. lat. 438, ff. 2^r-9^r).⁴ I have modernized the punctuation (and consequently, the capitalization), but am reproducing the spelling of the writer.

² For the general background, cf. E. Rummel, *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), especially chapters 4-6.

³ The most recent biographical and bibliographical information can be found in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 14, pp. 26-28, with bibliography. See also next note.

⁴ This is the only complete manuscript of the preface. Cf. the description in P.O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum* (London-Leiden, 1967) II, p. 425. Kristeller thinks that it is "probably the dedication copy" (*ibidem*). Another copy (cod. Ottob. lat. 121) is defective at the beginning and end (cf. Kristeller, *ibidem*, p. 423). For a discussion of its content see Ch. Trinkaus, *In Our Image and Likeness* (Chicago, 1970), pp. 604-613.

[2^r] Lippi Brandolini in sacram Ebreorum historiam ad reuerendissimum patrem et dominum dominum Franciscum Picolomineum Cardinalem Senensem prefatio, in qua huius operis scribendi causas commemorat seque aduersus eius rei criminatores defendit.

1. Inter omnes mortalium actiones nulla mihi, religiosissime pater, prestantior, nulla homini melior, nulla homine dignior uideri solet rerum diuinarum contemplatione ac studio. Quippe quum omnis nostra et spes et salus in uno deo, immo (ut uerius loquamur) unus deus sit, siue intelligere aliquid siue appetere uelimus, utraque uis hac una re maiorem immodum expletur atque acquiescit: intellectus enim, qui natura duce ad uerum indagandum fertur, ac demum ipsius dei qui summa ueritas est contemplatione id quod uult perfecte absoluteque consequitur; voluntas uero, que bonum semper affectat, in hoc uno quod summum, immo unicum, bonum est, secunda conquiescit. Quo fit ut existimem omnes, qui aut sane mentis sunt aut suae salutis cupidi, hoc uno studio atque hac una cupiditate teneri oportere. Ego quidem hac contemplatione ita delector, ita afficior, ut quodcunque datur a re domestica oculi, id omne in eam conferam, cupiamque ob hoc solum mihi oculi plurimum et copiarum dari, ut possim in eo studio quod reliquum est etatis industrieque consumere. Itaque quum proximis his annis sacrum Ebreorum historiarum uolumen, siue (ut nunc appellamus) Bibliam, unde omnis nostra diuinarum rerum cognitio pendet, accuratius legerem uellemque ex ea lectione fructum aliquem reportare, rem neque mihi inutilem neque aliis inio[2^r]cundam me facturum putauit, si ea quae erant ab antiquissimis illis Iudeis auctoribus plebeia quadam simplicitate et inconcinna uerborum copia ante conscripta,⁵ et a nostris postea ita ut erant uulgi gratia necessario translata, ego in unum quasi corpus collecta et breuius et ornatus explicarem. Quae enim ita posita erant, neque ab omnibus libenter legi neque memoria facile retineri posse uidebantur, immo multos ab sui lectione partim propter longitudinem deterrebant, partim

⁵ For a similar verdict on the style of the bible cf. Petrarch, *De otio* (ed. G. Rotondi, Città del Vaticano, 1958, p. 103) citing Jerome: "[tarditatem] in me hactenus minus miror, cum Ieronimum ipsum de se fatentem audiam quod sibi...sermo horrebat incultus. Quod si ei tali viro...potuit evenire, quid non potuit michi peccatori...qui magistros habui...qui omnem divine textum pagine non aliter quam aniles fabulas irridere". Similarly, Valla referred to the Vulgate as "inelegans" and "barbarum" (*Antidotum*, ed. A. Wesseling, Assen, 1978, pp. 114, 118); Erasmus said that the apostles spoke like sailors and cart drivers ("sic tum aurigae loquebantur et nautae", Ep. 1304: 142).

propter inconcinnitatem auocabant.⁶ Qui uero ea semel legerant, neque recordari omnia propter multitudinem rerum poterant neque repetere propter lectionis tedium laboremque uolebant. Itaque quum scirem nihil esse tam orridum tamque incultum (ut inquit Cicero)⁷ quod non splenderet oratione et tanquam excoleretur, tentare uolui an addere aliquam pulcherrimis rebus lucem ornatu et uenustate orationis possem, effecique ex uniuersa illa quae in sacro uolumine continetur historia quoddam⁸ quasi epithoma, quod esset et ad res memoria retinendas propter breuitatem accommodatum, et ad legentium uoluptatem propter orationis gratiam non iniocundum. Ea uero, quibus uel uaticinia prophetarum uel uitae precepta continebantur, quae quidem, quum in singulis uerbis mysticos sensus haberent, aliter dici non poterant, omnino non attigi.⁹ Quoniam autem eadem a Iosepho doctissimo apud Iudeos uiro historia fuerat summa cum diligentia fideque conscripta, isque non nullis in locis dissentire a scriptoribus sacris uidebatur et tamen illorum semper auctoritate nitebatur, ego qui discernere inter eos et iudicare uerum non possem,¹⁰ ut plenior perfectiorque haberetur omnium rerum notitia et fides penes auctores esset, utramque in dubiis rebus opinionem posui, ratus hos labores nostros prodesse multis, nemini obesse aut displicere posse.

2. Verum mihi multo aliter quam putabam euenit. Nonnulli enim ex eorum genere hominum qui et sacrarum sibi rerum scientiam vendicant et a litteris nostris abhorrent, ubi me hoc opus inchoasse audierunt [3^r] inuidia pariter arrogantiaque adducti,¹¹ magno in nos impetu atque

⁶ Cf. Erasmus, Ep. 843: 31-6: "...intelligam permultos offensos prodigiosis soloecismis...abhorreere a sacrorum voluminum lectione".

⁷ Cicero, *Paradoxa* 3.

⁸ *Sic pro quaedam ... quae ... accommodata ... iniocunda.*

⁹ Interestingly, Erasmus made the same point in order to encourage the reading of Scripture in the original language: "Quaedam ob sermonis idiomata ne possunt quidem...transfundi in alienam linguam" (*Ratio*, ed. H. Holborn, Munich 1933, p. 182).

¹⁰ For similar expressions of modesty and restraint, cf. Valla, *In Novum Testamentum Annotationes* (*Opera*, facs. Turin 1962, p. 821), pointing out an inconsistency in Matt. 26: "Hanc ego quaestionem...excute non debeo, sed admonere esse ambiguum"; sim. Erasmus, *Apologia* (ed. H. Holborn, Munich 1933, p. 170): "In annotamentis varias [lectiones] referimus, aut indicantes, quid nobis optimum videatur, aut relinquentes arbitrio, quid sequi malis" and ibidem, p. 171: "...quoniam illa [Graeca] mutare non licuit, Latina accommodauimus...non rescuimus a contextu, sed tamen in commentariolis admonemus addita".

¹¹ Erasmus characterizes his critics in similar terms: "Hii magno studio conspirant in bonas litteras. Ambiunt in senatu theologorum aliquid esse et verentur ne, si renascantur bonae litterae...videantur nihil scisse" (Ep. 337: 326-9). Cf. Erasmus' contemporary, Paolo Cortesi, who says that the theologians condemn "quae se assequi posse diffidant" (*In Sententias*, Basel, 1513, sig. B 2^r; cf. Cic., *Or.* 3).

ardore insurrexere modisque omnibus nostrum hoc studium, summi etiam pontificis auctoritate addita, impedire et ea que ad id tempus scripta fuerant abolere conati sunt, nouam fieri Bibliam, ueteremque ob id neglectum iri clamitantes, Jeronimi verba immutari nefas esse,¹² neque licere eum qui in theologia doctorum ornamenta atque insignia non acceperat quicquam omnino sacrarum rerum conscribere.¹³ Neque uero extreme sortis homines, sed trium summorum ordinum principes haec dictitabant. Sed repressa tandem est improborum hominum inuidiorumque peruersitas cum mansuetudine atque equitate Pontificis Maximi,¹⁴ tum uero tua, Francisce doctissime, tuorumque Collegarum prudentia atque doctrina, cognitaque huius operis utilitate mihi scribendi quicquid uideretur potestas est facta.

3. Absolui itaque primo quoque tempore quam inchoaueram inuitis obtreptatoribus rerum Ebrearum historiam tuoque sacratissimo nomini dedicaui quem quidem et harum rerum doctissimum et nostri amantissimum esse sciebam. Atque illis quidem nihil eo tempore respondendum

¹² This is an attitude that was already combatted by Jerome, cf., for example, *Patrologiae cursus completus*, Series Latina, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris 1844-84) vol. 28, 1186A; *ibidem*, vol. 29, 558B: Quis non statim erumpat in vocem, me falsarium, me clamans esse sacrilegum, qui audeam aliquid in veteribus libris addere, mutare, corrigere?" The same accusation was brought against textual critics in the Renaissance, e.g. Bessarion, *ibidem*, vol. 161, 625-6, after showing up an error in the Vulgate translation: "Post haec asserunt, nihil in sacra Scriptura innovandum esse"; Erasmus, *Opera Omnia* (Leiden, 1703-6) vol. VI **4^r: "[Dicunt] quicquid hic vertit Interpres Spiritui Sancto libet adscribere, et ob id nefas esse quicquam hinc mutare".

¹³ Cf. Valla, *Apologia* (*Opera*, p. 356): "Hic statim monere coepit atque castigare, ne falcem mitterem in messem alienam, essem mea doctrina contentus, neve sacra iura illotis manibus tractarem"; sim. the Spanish philologist Antonio Elio Nebrija justifying his work on the Scriptural text in the *Apologia* (n.l., 1516?, sig. a iv^r-v): "Atqui, inquit, etiam si sacri codices essent castigandi, non licere tamen...mihi homini ad sacras litteras non initiato". Cf. also Erasmus' defense of Valla, Ep. 182: 126-30: "An dicent non idem esse iuris Vallae grammatico quod Nicolao theologo?...Imo totum hoc, divinas vertere scripturas, grammatici videlicet partes sunt". The argument that only theologians were entitled to engage in scriptural studies was still advanced a hundred years after Brandolini wrote his apologetic preface. Noël Bédaride, a prominent member of the faculty of theology at Paris, may serve as an example. In the preface to his *Annotationum libri duo* (Cologne, 1526) sig. aa1^r, he criticized Lefèvre and Erasmus: "Solis humanitatis ac linguarum praesidiis instructi, sacra omnia edisserere sunt aggressi". In 1533 he lodged a complaint against the lecteurs royaux because as "simples grammariens ou rethoriciens non ayans estudié en ladicte Faculté [de théologie] s'efforçoient lire publicquement de la Sainte Esriture" (quoted J. Farge, *Le Parti Conservateur au XVIe siècle*, Paris, 1993, p. 118).

¹⁴ The chronology of Brandolini's writings is vague; he was in Rome under the pontificates of Sixtus IV (1471-84), Innocent VIII (1484-92), and (for brief visits) Alexander VI (1492-1503).

est uisum, ne magis uerbis quam re ipsa eorum maledictis responderem, neque scribendo minus quam respondendo eorum audaciam arrogantiamque reprimerem. Nunc autem perfecto atque absoluto opere breuiter illis respondere decreui, ne uel mea taciturnitas illis animum ad oblatrandum auxisse uel eorum audacia mihi uires ad respondendum minuisse uideatur; simul ut tibi nostri consilii rationes explicem teque earum non tam lectorem quam iudicem faciam tuoque iudicio atque auctoritate, cui plurimum tribuo, post hac uel aliquid in sacris rebus conscribam, uel omnino a scribendo abstineam.

4. Dicunt igitur primum nobis, qui theologie (ut ipsi appellant) doctores non sumus, in sacris rebus quicquam non licere. Hoc enim proprium munus esse eorum atque ipsis tantum scribendi ius esse, aliis non esse. Deinde si caetera [3^v] scribere maxime liceat, sacrum tamen Biblie uolumen in quo omnia nostre religionis misteria contineantur aliis quam sit scriptum uerbis, aut alio stilo scribi, aut omnino mutari nefas esse. Misteria enim non in rebus ipsis tantum, sed in singulis quoque uerbis contineri. Hoc autem modo peruerti ueterem Bibliam, nouamque fieri, non excerpti historias aut breuius eadem explicari. Postremo res sacras elegantiori stilo aut cultiori oratione scribendas non esse,¹⁵ quippe que non ad doctos modo uiros sed ad imperitam etiam plebem atque adeo ad omnem etatem sexumque pertineant; quae autem omnium salutis intersunt, ab omnibus quoque intelligi oportere.¹⁶ Quod si ea splendorem

¹⁵ Cf. Paolo Cortesi in the preface to his *In Sententias* (Basel, 1513), who notes that some people prefer a lowly style ("squalidiorem et horridiorem") for philosophical and theological matters, but they must be opposed: "Oppugnanda est eorum theologorum arx, qui disserendi elegantiam a theologia seiungunt" (sig. B 1 verso). Erasmus said that it had become a commonplace in his time to argue "in diuinis literis non esse recipiendam sermonis elegantiam" (*Opera Omnia*, Leiden 1703-6, vol. IX, 777C). The Paris doctors Noël Béda and Pierre Cousturier may serve as examples of this attitude. Béda writes in his *Annotationum libri duo*, sig. aa 3^v: "Quamquam uero pulchrum sit Fabro et Erasmo visum necnon et promovendae religioni utile nouo dicendi genere, i.e. cultius politiusue diuinas tractare literas, a prudentibus tamen et expertis uiris maxime incautum impietatis ac sacrilegio vicinum semper est iudicatum". Cousturier writes in *De tralatione Bibliae* (Paris, 1525) fol. 66: "Stilus scripturae diuinae mutandus non est, habet enim scriptura sacra proprium ydioma, quo a caeteris scripturis distat. Adde quod pompa seu cultus uerborum sacris literis minime conuenit". For this work of Cousturier's, which is directed against Erasmus and Lefèvre, cf. E. Rummel, *Erasmus and His Catholic Critics* (Nieuwkoop, 1989), II, pp. 61-73.

¹⁶ Cf. Cousturier, *De tralatione*, fol. 66^v: "Certum est...nec faciendam esse pro doctis uiris latinam editionem, quae non in templis, sed 'in cubiculis' legatur, sed omnes tam doctos quam indoctos communi tralatione contentos esse debere" and (fol. 68^v) "pauci sunt docti latini comparatione caeterorum, qui bibliam ipsam intelligere possent, si ad puritatem latinae linguae restituta esset. Et reuera inter clericos ac religiosos paucissimi

orationis elegantiamque desiderassent, Jeronimum¹⁷ Ciceronis usque ad uitium amatorem,¹⁸ a quo ea essent translata, id et facere optime potuisset et libentissime fuisse facturum.¹⁹ Haec fere sunt quae illi nobis obiicere consueuerunt.

5. Quae quidem illi cum dicunt, ita dicunt ut magis imperitiam suam detegant quam ostendant nostram. Nam cum scribendum nobis in theologia propterea quod doctores non sumus quicquam negant, in qua tandem urbe homines stultissimi negant? nempe in ea in qua omnium disciplinarum homines qui nullis doctorum insignibus sunt ornati quottidie de grauissimis theologiae locis orant, disputant, scribunt, et tamen haec omnia non modo impune sed cum summa quoque sua laude coram Pontifice Maximo faciunt. Quid, obsecro, meis equalibus Rome in sacris rebus licet, quod mihi in eadem urbe iisdem in rebus non liceat? An illis coram summo pontifice orare de his rebus et disputare permittitur, mihi in cubiculo scribere non permittitur?²⁰ Sed omittamus hodiernos homines, qui uel amicitia uel gratia uel eadem qua nos arguunt audacia ad id munus accedere possunt existimari, qui denique et peccare et puniri quum adhuc uiuant facile possunt. Quid ueteres illi doctissimi ac sanctissimi uiri, quorum hodie scripta non modo probamus, uerum etiam ueneramur: [4^r] Hylarius, Ciprianus, Lactantius, et (ut grecos quoque non taceam) Crhisostomus,²¹ Origenes, Eusebius, innumerabilesque alii, qui tam multa tanque preclara nobis in theologia ab se scripta uolumina reliquere?²² Fuerunt ne illis, quae isti tantopere appetunt, tanto imprecio habent, ornamentis obnoxii? Quid illi ipsi qui hodie quoque Christianae

sunt, qui eam vel intelligere possent, vel legere uellent, quippe qui potius ueritatem et res ipsas quam uerba considerata putant". For the use of the phrase "in cubiculo" by Brandolini, cf. the text below at note 20. Erasmus used the phrase as well, noting that his edition was not intended to replace the official text used in the liturgy, but was meant for private use ("in cubiculis", *Opera Omnia* (Leiden 1703-6), vol. IX 137A, 180A, 193E).

¹⁷ It was the prevailing view that Jerome was the author of the Vulgate translation then current, although the humanists (Erasmus and Lefèvre among them) had cast doubt on this. Cf. E. Rice, *St. Jerome in the Renaissance* (Baltimore, 1985), pp. 173-200.

¹⁸ A reference to the famous dream, in which he was flogged for his love of Cicero (cf. Jerome, Ep. 22.30 and E. Rice, *St. Jerome in the Renaissance*, pp. 3-4).

¹⁹ Cf. Cousturier, *De tralatione*, fol. 49^v: "Nec ibi quaerendas esse uerborum phaleras, quae potuissent in tralatione seruari, si spiritu rhetorico fieri debuisset".

²⁰ Cf. above, note 16.

²¹ *Sic*.

²² Cf. Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, Leiden 1703-6, vol. VI ***1^r: "Quod si nefas iudicant quicquam exstare diversum ab hac editione [Vulgata], abolendi essent Ambrosiani commentarii, suppressendus Cyprianus, Hieronymus et Augustinus, nihil attingendum Graecorum interpretum". Cf. also below, note 43.

ecclesiae doctores appellantur, Jeronimus, Gregorius, Ambrosius, Augustinus? Ulla ne officii aut doctrinae insignia aut acceperere aut optauere unquam? Quod si illi qui hanc nobis theologie scientiam peperere non modo eam nullis ornamentis subiecere, sed ne ipsi quidem ullis uti uoluere, uos qui eam uestra ignorancia labefactatis atque peruertitis (uos enim criminatores parumper appello, uobiscum hunc sermonem instituo), quibus obsecro de causis aut quo pacto ea uobis usurpare audetis? Quae sanctissimi uiri maiores nostri liberrima omnibus esse uoluere, uos quo scelere uobis arrogare tentatis? An uos illis doctiores et sapientiores estis? Vtinam, utinam uos ab illis ut uita et moribus, ita etiam doctrina et sapientia non maxime differetis. Noui ne aliquid quod illis incognitum esset inuenistis? Vtinam non uetera multa ab illis optime inuenta ignoraretis. Aliquam, credo, sectam²³ siue (ut nunc loquimur) heresim nostrae religioni aduersantem uestra doctrina et sapientia debellastis, ut eius uictoriae ornamenta atque insignia mereamini; uos potius impudentissimi uiri, uos inquam ab aliis insequendi ac debellandi essetis, qui et pessime de religione ac fide sentitis, et a Christiano homine maxime abhorrentem uitam ducitis. Quod si haec insignia neque a maioribus uestris accepistis, neque ipsi postea comparastis, quo pacto uobis ea usurpetis aut qua ratione uobis hoc scribendi munus arrogetis non intelligo. Videte ne haec summa potius ambitio uestra sit, qua uos pre caeteris mortalibus laboratis; quam enim potest homini dignitatem conferre uel nomen illud doctoris, uel illud uestis aut amiculi ornamentum, ut qui haec habeat scribere possit, qui non habeat non possit? Quid porro [4^v] nomen illud doctoris significat? Nonne eum qui ad docendum idoneus sit? Si quis hanc docendi facultatem sua doctrina consecutus sit, qui magis doctor erit si acceptis ornamentis non doceat, quam si doceat non acceptis?

6. At est hoc parte²⁴ iam doctrinae testimonium. Vtinam non esset aperte sepe numero ignorantiae occultatio. Ubi enim homines quae petebant ornamenta sunt adepti, contenti dignitate studia deserunt ratique se pares aliis effectos esse atque ad disciplinarum culmen peruenisse, suam imperitiam dignitate occultant. Quod si esset hoc parte iam doctrinae testimonium, neque nisi ab iis qui de summa doctrina iudicare possent, hoc est, a doctissimis uiris, neque nisi in eos qui doctissimi iudicati essent

²³ My correction for the faulty "septam" in the manuscript.

²⁴ I.e. *partae*. Three sentences further on the phrase is repeated, with the same spelling.

conferretur; nunc autem quum et a principibus qui ut plurimum indocti sunt et omnibus pro cuiusque opibus aut gratia haec ornamenta promiscue prebeantur,²⁵ quod doctrinae testimonium afferre possint non uideo. Quid enim ita creati doctores possunt aut docere aut scribere? Quanti uero est eorum doctrina, quanti sunt eorum scripta facienda? Quam multi uero sunt sine ornamentis doctissimi, qui et docere et scribere omnia optime ac facillime possint? Vtris tandem uos hoc scribendi munus magis conuenire arbitramini: illisne qui sine doctrina insignibus sunt ornati, an iis qui sine insignibus doctrina sunt preediti? Non puto uos esse tam stultos, quamuis uestrorum inuentorum amantissimi sitis, ut ornamenta doctrinae in scribendo preferre audeatis, immo quicquam ad scribendum conferre existimetis. Quod si doctrina est sola que scribit, ut certe est, neque ab ullis iuuari ornamentis potest, non debet hoc scribendi ius magis doctoris esse quam docti,²⁶ neque is qui ornamentis caret minus ad se eam pertinere prouinciam existimare quam is qui ornamentis et doctoris nomine tumidus atque elatus incedit.

7. At est theologorum non oratorum proprium de diuinis rebus perscribere. Ego uero a uobis primum quero qui magis haec materia theologorum quam oratorum sit propria, quum oratores [5] diuina et humana omnia sibi subiecta ad dicendum habeant, et ut queque latissime patent ita maxime oratori conueniant. Deinde, quid demum prohibeat me et oratorem et theologum esse? Discipline enim omnes inter se coniuncte et cognate sunt adeo, ut qui unam quampiam absolute consequi uelit, omnes quodammodo attingere atque ad se attrahere compellatur.²⁷ Postremo qui suspicemini me non esse theologum quum sciatis

²⁵ Cf. the provision of the University of Louvain governing admission to the faculty of theology, which specifically excluded persons who had been granted their degree by the pope or the emperor ("bullati") rather than by a university: "prima est quod universitas non acceptet aliquem graduatum ad doctoratum vel licenciam, nisi huiusmodi gradum in aliqua universitate notabili et famosa de rigore examinis adquisierit; et hoc propter bullatos" (H. de Jongh, *L'ancienne faculté de théologie de Louvain*, repr. Utrecht, 1980, p. 5*).

²⁶ For the same pun cf. Juan Luis Vives, *Contra pseudodialecticos* (ed. Ch. Fantazzi, Leiden 1979), pp. 74-6.

²⁷ Cf. Coluccio Salutati, *Epistolario* (ed. F. Novati, Rome, 1891, IV, p. 216): "Connexa sunt humanitatis studia; connexa sunt et studia diuinitatis, ut unius rei sine alia vera completaque scientia non possit haberi". Elio Nebrija, *Apologia*, sig. a iv^v: "Neque potest quis iurisdictionis meae terminos ita coercere ut non possim discurrere per reliquas omnes artes et scientias". For the notion that all arts were interconnected, cf. N. Kenny, *The Palace of Secrets* (Oxford 1990), pp. 14-16.

me Christianum esse²⁸ et de deo non modo loqui non imperite, quod theologi nomen efficit, uerum etiam non inscite scribere uideatis?

8. At uero materia, inquiunt, haec scribendi non erat. Bibliae enim uerba in quibus singulis misteria singula continentur mutare nefas est. Inuidiam profecto uestram in hac re summam ostenditis, ne dicam stultitiam, ut quod facere ipsi nescitis, alios facere doleatis. Quae enim materia per immortalem deum potest esse ad scribendum aptior, quae Christiano homini melior, quae Christiano dignior, quam ea quae omnia nostre religionis, nostre salutis continet fundamenta? Nonne haec omnibus modis, omnibus auctoribus, omnibus linguis,²⁹ ut longe lateque ad omnes nationes perueniat, uulganda et diffundenda est? Quis in hac re potest, non dico ulla ex parte damnari, sed non etiam summo opere commendari?

9. At uerba illa mutari propter mysticos sensus non debent. Primum ego misteria in sententiis et rebus ipsis non in uerbis singulis contineri dico, uerba enim et sententiarum gratia inuenta sunt, et per se significare nihil possunt.³⁰ Deinde non esse a nobis immutata contendo. Utrum enim uos mutari appellatis, cum pro uno uerbo aliud eiusdem significationis siue in eadem siue in alia lingua uerbum ponitur, ut si pro pane arton graece, aut pro uino temetum latine vel merum dicam, an cum uerbum aliud significans substituitur, ut si pro pane triticum, pro uino uuas ponam? Nam si superiori modo mutari uerba intelligitis, sic ego et ab Jeronimo et ab aliis quicumque aliquid transtulerunt [5^v] mutata esse contendo; sin posteriori modo mutari appellatis (ut magis consentaneum est) sic a me quoque uerba immutata esse nego. Quis est enim locus in quo ego sententias non ad unguem expresserim? Si quis tamen est, uos eum uidere a principio cum huic operi detrahebatis non potuistis.

10. Si autem uos in eo me reprehenditis quod sacras historias alio quam sunt scriptae stilo atque oratione explicauerim, idque mutari aut

²⁸ Cf. Erasmus, *Paraclesis* (ed. Holborn, pp. 142, 145): "Cur professionem omnium communem ad paucos contrahimus? ...Doctos esse vix paucis contingit, at nulli non licet esse Christianum, ...addam audacter illud: nulli non licet esse theologum". For the opposite point of view, cf. Cousturier, *De translatione*, fol. 97^r: "Audio quosdam nuper asseruisse Christianos omnes esse inducendos ad studium scripturae sanctae... 'Ne sutor ultra crepidam'!"

²⁹ *Sic*.

³⁰ Cf. Erasmus, *Opera Omnia* (Leiden 1703-6), vol. VI **4^v: "Audio quosdam adeo superstitiosos, ut nihil patiantur immutari a uerbis Euangelistarum in vertendo. Quasi uero isthuc uertere sit, ac non potius pervertere. Duabus rebus constat oratio, uerbis ceu corpore, et sententia uelut anima. Si utrumque reddi potest, non obsto quo minus fiat; si non potest, praeposterum fuerit, interpretem uerborum tenacem a sententia recedere".

innouari Bibliam appellatis, cur potius Jeronimum et alios interpretes non reprehenditis, qui non modo alia oratione, sed alia quoque lingua haec eadem expresserunt?³¹

11. At illi in diuersa lingua eadem uerba seruauerunt. Ego in eadem lingua sententias easdem seruiam; quod si mutare orationem non licet, ne linguam quidem licet. Quo igitur pacto Apostoli uariis linguis magnalia dei locuti sunt? Quo, inquam, pacto in omnem terram exiuit sonus eorum, si neque linguam neque orationem mutare fas erat? Usine sunt omnes eadem lingua apud diuersissimas nationes? An eadem oratione apud diuersa hominum genera uti potuere? An non eadem omnibus nuntiabant? Videte ne potius uicium sit mutare orationem nescire quam nolle.

12. Sed apostolis in dicendo, Jeronimo atque aliis summis uiris interpretando quauis uti lingua et oratione licuisse dicamus. Quid de Prudentio, Iuuencho, Aratore,³² aliisque permultis dicemus, quorum alii euangelia, alii actus apostolorum, alii has ipsas hebreorum historias atque uniuersum uetus (ut appellant) testamentum pulcherrimo atque elegantissimo carmine sunt complexi, mutaueruntne orationem? An easdem ad unguem omnes explicare sententias uersibus potuerunt? Quod si illi legibus astricti carminis easdem seruare sententias potuere, ego cur idem facere non possum nulla numerorum aut sillabarum necessitate astrictus? Aut si hoc illis facere uersu licuit, cur mihi soluta oratione non liceat? Atque illi quidem omnes Christi res gestas, omnia precepta in quibus nostra salus uniuersa fidesque continetur [6^r] prosecuti sunt. Ego neque uatum predictiones quae mysticos sensus continent, neque Salomonis precepta quae priuato quodam modo scripta sunt attingere uolui; quod si illorum scripta non modo non reiiciuntur, sed ab omnibus quoque summa cum auctorum laude expetuntur, nostra cur hoc nomine repudiari possint non uideo. Sin uos illorum scripta improbatis, nostra quoque improbetis plane uolo. Malo enim tantis autoribus errare, quam uobiscum bene sentire.

³¹ Similarly, Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, Leiden 1703-6, vol. VI ** 4^r: "Iam si quicquid hic vertit Interpres Spiritui Sancto libet ascribere, et ob id nefas esse quicquam huc demutare, cur audet reprehendere Hieronymus quod apud hunc legitur?"

³² These are standard examples in apologetic literature. Cf. Salutati, *Epistolario* (ed. Novati, IV, 231-2) in defense of poetry: "Male quidem minusque Christiane fecissent Iuuenus atque Sedulius...stulte fecisset Arator...peccauerunt et alii...ut Prudentius atque Prosper et pater Ambrosius". Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, Leiden 1703-6, vol. VI *** 1^v, defending his revision of the Vulgate: "Quod si Novum Testamentum vertissem carmine, quod fecit Iuuenus?" and Ep. 345: 83-5: "Quid si libros divinos omneis paraphrasi explanassem..num isti dicam mihi scriberent? Laudem etiam promeruit Iuuenus, qui Euangelicam historiam ausus est uersibus includere".

13. Nos igitur qui sacras historias et culta et dilucida oratione explicamus, bibliam innouamus, uos qui eam barbaris commentationibus corrumpitis, intactam inuiolatamque seruatis.³³ Nos qui res gestas orationis splendore et claritate illustramus, bibliam obscuram reddimus, uos qui omnia barbarie, caligine, et opinionum multitudine atque obscuritate inuoluitis, eam uestro iudicio declaratis atque illustratis. Videte, queso, uidete ne istud potius sacra uolumina corrumpere atque immutare sit; uos potius qui nouas quotidie atque inanes ueteribus scriptis opiniones astruitis, sacra uolumina deprauatis. Vos uestra ignorantia res sacras confunditis, uos, inquam, uestra barbaria non modo bibliam, sed uniuersam quoque theologiam foedatis atque peruertitis. Proinde a nobis biblia nostra oratione immutata dicatur, modo eam a uobis uestris commentatiunculis constet esse deprauatam atque corruptam. Sit sane id quod nos agimus bibliam innouare, modo sciatis uos eam perdere atque abolere. Sed uideamus quam tandem afferant sue siue ignorantiae siue stultitiae rationem (quod erat ex obiectis nobis criminibus reliquum).

14. Sacre, inquiunt, res nitore orationis non egent. Quae enim omnibus scripta sunt, ab omnibus quoque intelligi posse necesse est.³⁴ Quasi uero aut haec intelligi ab omnibus non possint, aut illa legere homines prohibeantur. O summam atque intolerabilem hominum ignorantiam, ne dicam, an ne inuidiam an ne utranque! Quis, obsecro, futurus est qui haec nostra non intelligat preter uos, qui nisi quae a uestri similibus scripta [6^v]sunt, aliud omnino nihil intelligitis? Num alios ex uobis iudicatis, uestrique omnes qui simillimos esse creditis, ut quae uos non intelligitis, ipsi quoque intellecturi non sint? Nonne haec latina, nonne propria, nonne usitata uerba sunt? Quid nos? Nonne sub hoc coelo, in hac lingua nati omnes et educati sumus? Quid, obsecro, cuiuis facilius esse debet quam linguam patriam intelligere? Quid gratius quam eam omni tempore atque in omni disciplina posse lectitare? An expectamus ut Germani eam Scittheque intelligant?³⁵ Quamquam ipsi quoque

³³ Similarly Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, Leiden 1703-6, vol. VI ***1^v: "Illis temere licet pro suo arbitratu depravare, mihi non licebit ex fide veterum codicum...restituere?" Nebrija, *Apologia* sig. aiii^r: "Quaenam igitur inuidia est velle nobis praeccludere illud unicum emaculandi libros...[cum alii] nihil putant sibi non licere, alius aliquid addens, alius detrahens, alius transverso calamo illinens, alius expungens, alius inducens".

³⁴ Cf. above, note 16.

³⁵ I.e. Scythians, proverbial for lack of culture; Germans were routinely labelled "barbarians", cf. Franciscus Irenicus, *Germaniae Exegeseos volumina duodecim* (Hagenau, 1518) II, chapter 33, quoted, G. Strauss, *Manifestations of Discontent in Germany on the Eve of the Reformation* (Bloomington, 1985), p. 73.

illam hodie (si diis placet) et studiosius legunt et frequentius accuratiusque perdiscunt. Latina igitur scripta a nostris potissimum et legenda et intelligenda sunt. Sed nimirum uos ut a nostris moribus, ita a lingua maxime aborretis, aliosque item aborrere existimatis.

15. Sed esto, uulgus nostra non intelligat. Quis, obsecro, cogit quenquam ut uel hec legat, uel illa non legat? Habet uulgus qua erudiatur, qua delectetur, in sacris rebus lectione illa perfruatur. Hanc eruditioribus cultioribusque relinquit; ut enim uulgus intelligere haec cultiora non potest, ita eruditi simpliciora illa legere et longiora non possunt.³⁶ Huc accedit, quod nos non omnia complexi sumus, sed ea tantum quae historiam texere posse uidebantur, caetera, qui uolet, ab illis archetypis accipiat necesse est.

16. At negligentur pro istis uetustiora illa et sanctiora uolumina. Primum quidem si uerum istud esset, haberem ipse quod cuperem, ut mala nostra scripta non essent. Nam si illa quae optima esse nemo dubitat nostrorum gratia negligerentur, mala profecto nostra non essent. Mala enim bonis, si modo sanus est, preferat nemo. Deinde qui possunt illa pro nostris omitti, quum haec neque ab omnibus (ut uos ipsi fatemini) intelligantur neque omnia quae sunt in illis scripta contineant? Sed inuidetis uos quidem maiorem immodum nostrae laudi, et que uos non modo non scribere, sed ne intelligere quidem potestis, ea uel scribi ab aliis uel intelligi uel omnino legi indignamini.

17. Atqui res diuinae, quum per se [7^r] satis splendide ornateque sint, nitore aut cultu orationis non egent.³⁷ Quae (malum) ista uestra dementia est (leuiori enim uocabulo uti non possum) ut quae uos ignoratis, ea

³⁶ Jerome had offered the same disclaimer, *Patrologiae cursus completus*, Series Latina, vol. 28, 1172A: "Habebant qui volunt veteres libros"; *ibidem*, 1474B: "Legant qui volunt, qui nolunt abjiciant". Similarly Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, Leiden 1703-6, vol. VI **3^r: "Sed offenduntur qui Latine nesciunt et veteres soloecismos quibus assueverunt requirunt. Habent isti veterem editionem, per me quidem, integram et intactam. Sciebam plurimos ob sermonis imperitiam, ne dicam spurcitiem, a sacris voluminibus abhorreere. Boni consulunt istis, si his quoque consultum esse volumus. And *Ep.* 843: 33-6: "Neque enim omnes mortales tam patiente sunt stomacho ut illius stilum ferre possint. Quod si imperitis ac simplicibus consulitur simplicitate sermonis, cur non consulimus et eruditis mundicie sermonis?"

³⁷ Cf. the Louvain theologian F. Titelmans (*Collationes quinque*, Antwerp, 1529, sig. d4 ^{r-v}), asking the literary critics to distinguish between the worldly eloquence found in orators and secular philosophers and the special kind of eloquence inspired by the Holy Spirit: "Haec est simplex illa et casta, humilis et modesta, mitis et benigna, severa et amabilis, munda et nitida eloquentia, qua et ipse est in carne nobiscum locutus et suos item discipulos loqui voluit".

necessaria esse negetis? Tutari ne aut occultare uos hoc pacto uestram inscitiam posse arbitramini? An minima queque orationis cultu indigere putatis, maxima non putatis? Si quae orrida ac inculta sunt orationis nitore splendidescunt atque illustrantur, iis quae per se uenusta et formosa sunt nonne infinitus quidam decor gratiaque incredibilis adhibito splendore atque ornatu orationis accedet? Aut enim dignitas est aliqua orationis, aut nulla omnino. Si nulla est uel gratia uel dignitas quae rebus ab oratione addatur, cur ei rei tantam operam ueteres illi sapientissimi uiri dandam putauere? Cur eam tanto in pretio atque honore habuere? Cur ea de re nobis et plurima et pulcherrima uolumina reliquere? Frustra ne? Minime id quidem credendum est, prudentissimos homines in re parua atque inutuli tantum laboris atque industriae consumpsisse, quum non nisi maxima semper et utilissima sectarentur. Sin aliqua inest huic rei dignitas, aliquod ornamentum, quod homines expetere aut admirari debeant, id profecto uniuersum in res diuinas, quibus omnis mortalium honos studiumque debetur, conferendum est.

18. At enim diuinae res quum per se satis pulchre illustresque sint, externo, credo, cultu et splendore non egent. Immo (si uerum fateri uolumus) multo magis egent. Preciosissima enim queque ornatissimis ac pretiosissimis tum operiri uestibus, tum loculis condi et seruari decet. Videmus formosissima hominum corpora tum demum suam maxime pulchritudinem et ostendere et seruare, quum preciosissima ueste et cultu suae formae consentaneo redimita sunt. Videmus preciosissimas gemmas quamquam mirum illum a natura decorem speciemque acceperunt, nisi auro concludantur, nitorem omnem gratiamque amittere.

19. Sed ut ad ea quae nostrae disputationi propin[7^v]quiora sunt ueniamus, nonne caeterae omnes disciplinae quae liberales appellantur hoc orationis ornatu tanquam ueste detracto nude abiecteque uidentur?³⁸ et tum demum suam speciem uenustatemque recipiunt, cum hoc adhibito exornantur? quod si uel humana corpora uestibus uel gemme auro, uel caeterae disciplinae oratione ad se excolendas perficiendasque indigent, immo non nisi his demum adhibitis ornamentis eam quam habent a natura pulchritudinem aut ostendere aut retinere satis possunt, nonne illis diuinae res illustrari atque excoli, immo sine illis enuntiari atque efferri

³⁸ For another comparison between style and clothing in the same context, cf. Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, Leiden 1703-6, vol. VI**4: "Nunc expediat [orationem] mutari, quando nec Apostolico cultu nunc utuntur Episcopi, sed in omnibus splendor accessit Ecclesiae".

non posse existimandae sunt? An preciosissimas epulas putamus in uilibus ac sordidis uasis corrumpi atque infici, res diuinas quae omni precio maiores sunt orationis coeno ac sordibus foedari et corrumpi non putamus? Vis autem in persuadendo quanta sit orationis, neminem dubitare arbitror. Quis est enim tam hebeti tamque obtuso ingenio, qui non animum his eloquentiae uiribus in omnes flecti partes atque his tanquam frenis parere intelligat?

20. Quis est uel natura tam ferreus tamque inhumanus, uel huic facultati tam inimicus tamque infensus, qui non se ab ea ad omnes affectus moueri et quodammodo compelli fateatur? Quippe cuius et finis persuadere et officium apte ducere ad persuadendum sit, nihilque sit tam incredibile quod dicendo (ut ait Cicero)³⁹ non fiat probabile. Diuinae uero res, quae nostram omnem non modo fidem, uerum etiam cogitationem excedunt, quo pacto sine summa ui dicendi et copia orationis uel describi aut pronuntiari queant ut populo probentur, non uideo. Quis enim est tanta animi facilitate qui cum audit uel hominem sine coitu natum de uirgine, uel totum Christi corpus in exiguis hostiae figuris conclusum, uel tres in una substantia esse personas, et quae nostri dogmatis positiones sunt, facile adduci possit ut credat? Summa profecto ui dicendi et infinita quadam orationis [8^r]copia ad haec persuadenda opus est, quam quidem prestare nisi eloquentia non potest. Est igitur (ut uideris) eloquentia cum ob eam quam affert rebus dignitatem ac speciem, tum ob eam quam habet in persuadendo uim diuinis rebus uel maxime necessaria.

21. At enim eam ueteres theologi, credo, contempserunt. Immo uero nemo est eorum qui non illam summo studio sit complexus, idque suis scriptis maxime indicauerit. Vultis incipiam ab apostolis? Legite Pauli epistolas illis ipsis quibus ab eo sunt linguis conscripte. Quanta in⁴⁰ illis uis? Quanta facundia?⁴¹ Prorsus ut uerissima sit illa Jeronimi admiratio totidem in eo tonitrua esse quot uerba. Legite de Grecis magnum illum Basilium, Gregorium Nazianzenum, Ioannem Chrisostomum, Dionisium Areopagitam, Origenem Alexandrinum; de nostris Ciprianum, Lactantium, Augustinum, Gregorium, Leonem illumque ipsum, qui sacra uolumina transtulit, Jeronimum innumerabilesque alios, qui grece latineque

³⁹ Cicero, *Acad.* 1.32, *De leg.* 1.62.

⁴⁰ In the manuscript the word *in* is repeated by mistake.

⁴¹ Cf. Erasmus, *Annotationes* ad Rom. 12 (ed. A. Reeve and M. Screech, Leiden 1990, p. 416): "Sic totus sermo modulatus est, ut nulla cantio possit esse iucundior".

tam multa nobis ingenii sui monumenta reliquerunt.⁴² Quantam in illis uim, quantam elegantiam, quantam copiam reperietis!⁴³ Ut et illos eloquentissimos uiros fuisse et necessariam diuinis rebus eloquentiam existimasse negare non possitis.

22. At usus, credo, elegantiam hodie in diuinis rebus non recipit. Ego vero, ut nostra chorus decantet, non postulo. Sed quid uos? Elegantiam ne usque ad aras et sacrificia uenire non putatis? Quid himni, orationes, lectiones, et caetera quibus hodie in uniuersa re diuina utimur: nonne et omnia pene elegantissima sunt et a disertissimis uiris conscripta? Immo (si uerum accuratius discutiamus) nihil in illis non tersum et elegans reperitur, nisi quod a uobis et uestri similibus postea per summam audaciam atque importunitatem est additum, adeo ut liquido appareat quicquid in rebus diuinis corruptum est, a uestra barbaria et ignorantia esse corruptum.

23. Cur igitur bibliam transtulit sine ullo uerborum lepore [8^v] ornatuque Jeronimus? Nempe quia sic apud Hebreos scriptam reperiebat. Quum autem eo tempore permulti uerum ipsum omni ex parte oppugnant eaque de causa frequentes aduersus religionem nostram secte uno quoque bibliam suo arbitratu interpretante insurgerent, necesse fuit cum ut aliena confutari, tum ut nostra confirmari possent, ita latine sonare bibliam, ut Grece ebraiceque sonabat, uerbaque nostra singula singulis illorum uerbis suo ordine respondere, adeo ut in ea interpretatione Jeronimus, qui ad unguem omnia cupiebat exprimere, ipsius etiam grammatices leges ac fines egredi non dubitaret, sed quod tunc instantibus aduersariis dubiisque rebus nostris necessario faciendum fuit, nunc sublatis illis statuque confirmato seruandum non est. Causa enim sublata effectus quoque ipse e uestigio tollitur. Quod si magnum affert eloquentia diuinis rebus splendorem magnamque dignitatem, si est illis ad persuadendum probandumque necessaria, si ueteres theologos omnes eam et summo studio sibi comparasse et in omnibus suis scriptis adhibuisse manifestum est, denique si nos ea quotidie in rebus diuinis uti constat,

⁴² Cf. Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, Leiden 1703-6, vol. VI ** 3^v: "Deinde si contumeliosum est de rebus diuinis emendate loqui, in jus vocandi sunt veteres pene omnes, Graeci pariter et Latini, qui non eleganter modo, verum etiam eloquenter tractarunt res mysticas".

⁴³ Cf. Erasmus, *Ratio* (ed. Holborn, p. 190): "Quanto supercilio quidam contemnant...rhetoricam, quanto bonas, ut vocant et sunt, litteras. Attamen hae quamlibet istis fastiditae litterae insignes illos dedere theologos...Non referam hic, quot immortalitate digni viri, Gregorius Nazianzenus, Damasus, Prudentius, Paulinus, Iuuenius, Christi mysteria poeticis carminibus tractarint".

quid est quod nostrum hoc studium nostramque exercitationem reprehendere ulla ex parte aut accusare possitis? Nonne ego tantorum uiro-
rum in re presertim tam honesta exemplo uti debeo?

24. Desinite igitur tam graue, tam honestum, tam sanctum in nobis scribendi studium criminari, quoniam neque a nostra dignitate neque a nostra professione alienum est et christiani hominis officio ac pietate dignissimum. Desinite hanc scribendi materiam reprehendere, quum et bibliam nos non ulla ex parte immutemus, sed dilucidiores iocundioresque reddamus et in ea re clarissimorum uirorum exemplum imitemur. Desinite in sacris rebus nitorem orationis elegantiamque damnare, quamquidem illis et necessario adhibendam esse et ab omnibus adhibitam fuisse perspicitis. Desinite unquam in nos ulterius oblatrare, ne uestram potius ignorantiam quam nostram diligentiam arguatis. [9^r] Id autem mihi licere permittite, quod et ab omnibus christiane religionis auctoribus factitatum est et esset sine ullo etiam exemplo faciendum.

25. Sed uobis quidem satis in presentia responsum sit. Si posthac nobis molesti esse pergetis, achrius uestram impudentiam grauiusque reprimemus. Tu uero, humanissime pater, nostram hanc defensionem sic accipies, ut non minus iudicandam tibi meam causam quam legendam esse scias. Nostrasque historias ita leges, cum per publicas occupationes et grauiora studia licebit, ut non occupande tuae beniuolentiae magis quam tui iudicii eliciendi gratia tibi dedicatas esse intelligas. Existimaui enim hoc demum pacto posse a tua modestia impetrari ne iudicandi atque emendandi curam refugeres, si tuum opus dedicatione efficerem. Sciebam enim te, qui acerrimus tuorum defensor esse consueuisses, pro tua summa in omnibus rebus diligentia beniuolentiaque erga nos prope singulari non passurum ut nostra, quae tibi dedicata essent, in manus hominum non emendatissima peruenirent, presertim quum essent multorum maledictis obtrectionibusque obnoxia. Ego uero Pontifici Maximo promississem me hoc opus non nisi ex doctissimorum uirorum consilio publicaturum. Tu itaque, Francisce doctissime, in hoc opere non tantum amici aut principis, sed iudicis quoque et censoris partibus atque officio, si me amas, fungaris uelim, tuo quoque arbitratu opus hoc uel supprimas uel emittas; id enim omnibus probatum iri sperabo, quod tibi probari intellexero. Sed iam ad ipsam historiam uenimus.

Marvin L. COLKER

VENUS: A HUMANIST'S EPIGRAMS ON LOVE

The insatiable bibliophile Sir Thomas Phillipps purchased, in 1836, from the Richard Heber collection what became Phillipps manuscripts 8070 to 8497.¹ Manuscript 8234 among these books² is now MS X878L614/S7 in the Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Columbia University in New York City.³

The manuscript contains, on its ten paper leaves, *Venus*, a collection of sixty-seven amatory epigrams written by an Italian hand of the early sixteenth century. Frequently the text exhibits blots from a pen badly interacting with the paper. There is, however, no clear evidence that the manuscript is or is not autograph, though the marginal reading “foedas” for “turpes” of the text in poem 22 line 1, consistent with “foedas” at 25.8, perhaps suggests that the poet was correcting himself.

The collection of verses, seemingly unpublished,⁴ is by an anonymous poet, who leaves few clues, all tenuous, about himself. Possibly the poet once lived in Rome (cf. poem 21.11). If so, when he says in poem 35

¹ A.N. L. Munby, *The Formation of the Phillipps Library up to the Year 1840*, Phillipps Studies no. 3 (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 73-80, 163.

² *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum in bibliotheca d. Thomae Phillipps* (Middlehill-Cheltenham, 1837-1871), p. 125.

³ C.U. Faye and W.H. Bond, *Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1962), p. 321; P.O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum et alia itinera*, V (London and Leiden, 1990), p. 296.

⁴ The opening of the work is not listed in Hans Walther, *Initia carminum ac versuum medii aevi posterioris Latinorum* (Göttingen, 1959) with supplement (Göttingen, 1969) or in L. Bertalot, *Initia humanistica Latina: Poesie* (Tübingen, 1985). The Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes informed me by letter of 24 January 1992 that it has no record of the work. Also, as Consuelo Dutschke (letter of 27 September 1992) kindly let me know, there does not appear to be any mention of the manuscript in the files of correspondence or in the bibliographical records of the Rare Books and Manuscripts Library at Columbia University. So too, Rudolph Ellenbogen of the Library has no recollection of anyone working on the manuscript (his letter of 27 September 1991); and Professor P.O. Kristeller (letter of 5 October 1993), unaware of any edition, has expressed delight that I have undertaken to edit the poems.

that our women weep over the departure of Mennula Stratiotas while the Florentine women rejoice at his coming, the "nostras" (35.1) might refer to the women of Rome. In the poems the author appears as an old man. He speaks of himself as elderly in 31.5-6 and implies as much by "Hac...aetate" in 40.1. Indeed he is not desirable prey for a prostitute since he is old, without money or strength (26.3-4). He repeatedly compares old and young men in love (poems 27, 31, 42, 51) and contrasts the vices of youth with the vices of the aged (poem 32). Specifically, the poet declares himself an elderly man of fifty-five years (51.11). But one cannot determine in the collection which statements, if any, about the poet and his circle are fictional.

His poem 8 is an adaptation of an anecdote in Poggio Bracciolini's *Facetiae*, of which no. 249, the last dated piece, is from 1452-1453.⁵ Two persons are mentioned in *Venus* without fictional names, Mennula Stratiotas (34-36) and the poet Thomas Pratensis (60). This Thomas is presumably the Thomas Pratensis recorded by P.O. Kristeller as a poet⁶ who directed verses to Marcus Antonius Amaltheus (1475-1558) and wrote about Zacharias Ferrerius (born in 1479 and active in the first half of the sixteenth century).⁷ Furthermore, poems were addressed to Thomas by Hieronymus Bononius (1454-1517).⁸ Like Amaltheus, Ferrerius, and Bononius, the poet of *Venus* seems to have lived in the latter part of the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth.

His collection of epigrams begins with a preface, speaking of the work as a little book ("libellus") called *Venus*. According to this preface, *Venus* contains naughty material ("lasciva") which should give enjoyment to the young, for there are many works aimed to delight the aged but few compositions for the pleasure of the young. Still, the collection is not

⁵ E. Walser, *Poggius Florentinus: Leben und Werke* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1914, rpt. Hildesheim and New York, 1974), p. 264 n.4.

⁶ P.O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, II (London and Leiden, 1977), pp. 198, 234-5, 250, 260.

⁷ Kristeller, *Iter Italicum* II, p. 260 and 250; cf. *ibid.* II, p. 258. For Amaltheus see *Archivio biografico italiano*, a cura di Tommaso Nappo, microfiches, s.v. "Amalteo, Marcantonio"; A. Benedetti, "Marcantonio Amalteo, umanista pordenonese (1474-1558)", *Atti dell' Accademia di Scienze, Lettere...di Udine*, s. VII 10 (1972). For Zacharias Ferrerius see *ibid.*, s.v. "Ferrerio, Zaccaria"; cf. also M.E. Cosenza, *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists*, II (Boston, 1962), p. 1387.

⁸ Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, II, pp. 10-11, 18, 194, 285 and cf. I (London and Leiden, 1977), p. 83 and II, p. 286. For Hieronymus Bononius see M.E. Cosenza, *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary*, I (Boston, 1962), pp. 665-666 and R. Ceserani, "Bologni, Girolamo" in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, XI (Rome, 1969), pp. 327-331.

entirely lascivious. Some moralistic pieces appear in the collection (see 21, 22, 25, 27, 47, 63), and poem 47 glorifies wives.

Following the preface are, befittingly, two epigrams addressed respectively to Venus and Cupid. After poem 3, the themes turn to the poet and his acquaintances, except for a few pieces based on classical authors (5, 19, 24, 47), on Poggio (8), and the Latin translation of an epitaph in German (20). Even so, the poem paraphrasing Pliny the Younger (19) presents the author's own twist at the end.

Anyway, the main body of the poems, addressed to many people, especially ladies, offers a wide range of feelings. There are poems expressing affection (e.g. 3, 7); hostility, perhaps pretended sometimes (e.g. 4, 10, 34-36); playfulness (e.g. 6, 18, 38, 50, 55), which occasionally descends to crudity (e.g. 58, 64-67); joy (e.g. 29); amusement (e.g. 12-14); the deep throes of love (15, 41); excitement over a woman's beauty (37); heartbreak (40, 42); annoyance at inconsistency in a relationship (43).

Apart from Mennula Stratiotas (34-36) and Thomas Pratensis (60), the personal names are, it seems, fictional: the poet himself declares that Phyllis is a pseudonym (44.1). In fact, the names of persons are almost all drawn from classical literature, especially Martial, and follow the tradition of such classical poets as Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius, who used assumed names for women about whom they wrote.

Indeed there is a strong pagan tone in the collection. There is an interjection calling upon the gods ("Dii superi" in 7.1), and classical allusions abound, e.g. Mysus (3.1), Helen and Thais (21.17), "Lydaque castra" (33.4), "Attica mella" (37.1), "salis Attici" (51.25), Priapus (48.4, 49.1), Cato (51.17), Socrates and Alcibiades (53.2-3), Catullus (64.10). *Venus* (12.3, 12.5) quotes from Vergil's *Eclogues*, and gives whole pieces based on Macrobius (5), Pliny the Younger (19), Ausonius (24), and the *Historia Augusta* (47). As my notes on the text will show, the frequent stylistic imitation of classical authors reveals that the poet was steeped in classical learning.

He was, most notably, influenced by Catullus,⁹ whom he names (64.10); by the anonymous *Priapea*, which came to light in the fourteenth

⁹ For Catullus in the Renaissance see J.H. Gaisser, *Catullus and His Renaissance Readers* (Oxford, 1993).

century;¹⁰ and by Martial, whose text began to proliferate only in the second quarter of the fifteenth century.¹¹

Both strong classical training and independent skills enabled the poet to compose polished verse, not only in elegiac meter, the main meter of Martial and himself, but also in choliambic (34, 47) and hendecasyllabic (13, 48, 50, 51, 53, 60, 61, 63, 64, 66) strains.

My edition, which follows, will enable a comparison of *Venus* with another skillful fifteenth-century collection of amatory poems, the *Hermaphroditus* of Panormita (Antonio Beccadelli), which has recently been re-edited by Donatella Coppini.¹²

And now I express my gratitude to the Rare Books and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, for preparing clear microfilm of *Venus* and for permitting publication of the work: in particular I wish to thank, for their encouragement, Kenneth A. Lohf, Librarian for Rare Books and Manuscripts; Rudolph Ellenbogen, Assistant Librarian for Rare Books and Manuscripts; and Consuelo Dutschke, who is engaged in cataloguing the medieval manuscripts of Columbia University.

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¹⁰ M.D. Reeve in *Texts and Transmission*, ed. L D Reynolds (Oxford, 1983), p. 322.

¹¹ Reeve in *Texts and Transmission*, p. 242. For the influence of Martial in Italy see Frank-Rutger Hausmann, "Martial in Italien", *Studi medievali* ser. 3, XVII (1976), 173-218.

¹² *Antonii Panormitae Hermaphroditus*, ed. Donatella Coppini (Rome, 1990).

VENUS

LIBELLUS QUI INSCRIBITUR VENUS

Continet exiguus quaedam lasciuia libellus,
 Insignem titulum cui dedit alma Venus.
 Sunt electa senes alibi quae multa iuuabunt:
 Est aequum iuuenes haec quoque pauca iuuent.

1. VENUS

Sum Venus humanae res dulcis amaraque vitae.
 Ocia sunt castris irrequieta meis,
 Bellica pax, odiosus amor. Sunt denique mixta
 Omnia mellito pocula felle mea.

2. CUPIDO

Nudus et alatus, caecus, pharetratus et infans
 Delirat figit, nil uidet, errat eget.

3. AD AMICAM

Vt iuueni Myso conamine missa potenti
 Haesit Achillea Pelias hasta manu,
 Mox tamen a dextra repetitum uulnus eadem
 Vulnere sanauit uulnus utrunque nouo,
 Sic mihi nunc infers laesa quae fronte dolorem, 5
 Suauius si dederis, causa salutis eris.

4. AD GELIAM

Cum referas priscam facie praestante Lacoenam,
 Gelia, sit similis nulla puella tibi,
 Nupsisti foedo tanta cum dote marito,
 Informi et coruo clara columba data es.
 Nimirum culpant omnes, sed cauta fuisti 5
 Nullum etenim nuptae dedecus esse graui.

5. DE IULIA EX MACROBIO

Ederet Agrippae similes cum Iulia natos,
 Altera Vulcanum fallere docta Venus
 Quaerenti causam respondit callida: "Nam sum
 Vectorem plena tollere naue memor".

6. AD NYSAM AMICAM

Sponte prius dederas; poscenti, Nysa, negasti,
 Deficeret longa cum mihi lingua prece.
 Tanta sed illata est ex hoc iniuria fastu
 Vt te uix saluam deinde uidere uelim.
 Nulla fuit seu parua quidem quae contigit ultro 5
 Gratia. Nunc odium te renuente graue est.
 Disce sed ut fatuos melius modereris amores.
 Quod rogo da, sed quod non rogo, Nysa, nega.
 Grator est quaecunque uenit uotiuua uoluptas.
 Insperata minus gaudia nempe iuuant. 10

7. SOMNIUM FELIX EX CANDIDA

Dii superi, regina Venus, pharetrate Cupido,
 Quam subiit felix hac mihi nocte sopor,
 Qualia sopitum mulserunt gaudia pectus,
 Quanta quies votis saepe petenda meis!
 Somnus enim lassos placidus perrepserat artus; 5
 Cum foret exactum iam prope noctis iter,
 Visa iacens nexis circum mea colla lacertis
 Candida iam fastus poenituisse trucidis,
 Mille dehinc tremula figens mihi basia lingua,
 Mille modis animam dillacerare meam, 10
 Ense uelut blandis traiecto corde susurris,
 Seminecem nimio cogere amore mori.
 Magna fuit, non uera quidem nec plena, uoluptas,
 Candida, quam vultus obtulit umbra tui.
 Quod si te dederis, uera sub imagine tandem 15
 Vnus ero felix et deus unus ero.

8. EX POGIO

Parturiens acres queritur dum Tusca dolores
 Haec obstetrici uerba puella dedit:
 “Quid tantum patulos seruas, ignara, meatus,
 Editus in lucem qua solet ire puer?
 Inuia postici scrutare foraminis antra. 5
 Hac etenim forsán sum quoque parte grauis”.

9. IDEM

Offendit si quos petulans lasciuiá, quaeso
 Parcite. Non omnes pagina casta iuuat.
 Carmina phas Veneri fuerit permittere pauca
 Quando opere ex toto plurima Pallas habet.

10. AD PAULAM

Pro me lena sagax temptauit: Paula, negasti,
 Sic tamen ut spes nonnulla relictá foret.
 Ad paucos exinde dies lenone ministro
 Me reuocas. Ego iam laesus adire nego.
 Ipsa leuem licet appelles, extinxit amoris 5
 Quenlibet affectum prima repulsa mei.
 Ingenui est animi mentes spreuisse superbas
 Fallacesue dolos seu sit utrunque simul.

11. OPTATISSIMI AMORIS COPIA

Hunc Venus ipsa mihi si promississet amorem,
 Dixissem: “Fallax, das mihi uerba, Venus”.
 Et tamen optati gratissima copia furti
 Contigit: audaci profuit esse mihi.
 Aspera temptanti primum sed denique mitis 5
 Succubuit longa facta puella prece.
 Est leuis ingenii subitae dare terga repulsae.
 Spes plaerumque tenax munera magna refert.

12. DE PONTICO

Ponticus arrecto resupinus penne iacebat.
 Dum tua cantaret carmina, diue Maro,

“Dic mihi Dameta” quaeque ordine cuncta sequuntur,
 Ad postremum inter cetera dixit et hoc:
 “Parta meae Veneri sunt munera”. Risimus omnes, 5
 Munera nam Veneri quae magis apta feras?

13. DE LIBIDINOSO SENE

Dum segnes parat excitare lumbos
 Ducturus teneram senex puellam,
 Coena luxuriante nuptiali
 Exquirens epulas libidinosas,
 Pigram quis venerem ferunt cieri, 5
 Inter cetera crapulae uigentis
 Erucae patinam uorauit amplam.
 Tum dulces ruiturus in palestras,
 Multae nec patiens morae, uomendum
 Dat lecto chaos ebriamque molem. 10
 Ergo massa rudis statim fatigat
 Afflictum stomachum graui dolore.
 It putor fluidus nec ore tantum
 Sed qua commodior patet meatus.
 Vt casum expediam breui iocosum, 15
 Fomento venerem salacis herbae
 Irritare uolebat: irritauit.

14. DE PHYLLIDE

Aegroto Phyllis tandem uiduata marito
 A sene responsum tale petita dedit:
 “Aegris fessa quidem clysteria ponere iam sum.
 Haec cupio ponat qui mihi nunc iuuenem”.
 Dixerat, e multis legit sibi protinus unum. 5
 Hunc uice clysteris prouida Phyllis habet.

15. VEHEMENS AMOR

Vecordem cari merito ridetis amici.
 Mentem cor attonita sentio abesse mihi:
 Scilicet illecebris rapuit Lucretia uafis,
 Pectoris atque utinam clausit arce sui.

Vlcus ubi aspexit spe iam sanabile nulla,
 Putruerant aegri quo pudibunda uiri,
 Persuasit facile huic secum miserabilis uxor
 Fluctiuaga mergi se pateretur aqua.
 Protinus excepit uicinus Larius ambos, 5
 Fortis ut audaci uinxerat ipsa manu.

Plinius hoc laudat. Sano magis ipse probarem
Inguine siquis sui posset obire uiri.

20. EX GERMANICA IN LATINAM LINGUAM TRANSLATUM

Hic iaceo Henricus potans modo uiuus edensque,
Tum veneri indulgens. Omnia mors rapuit.
Exemplo quicumque meo legis ista, caveto.
Hora tibi uitae munere ne qua uacet.

21. AD PYRRHUM LIBIDINOSUM

Vxorem teneram quae te vesania cogit
Linquere, nescio quae scorta pudenda sequi?
Est vxor iuuenis, satis et formosa decensque,
Qua contentari coniuge, Pyrrhe, queas.
Tu tamen informes et anus sectaris ubique, 5
Praeter et vxorem quaelibet apta tibi est.
Ante alias illam, si non foret uxor, amares.
Sola abigunt animum uincla marita tuum.
Balnea sic Thomae, Petri modo, saepe Georgi
Visis ob Illyricas Teutonicasque lupas. 10
Saepe propinqua petis Magnae pomoeria Matri,
Gannea Nicoleo saepe propinqua petis.
Pone tuae fraenum (quaenam haec lasciuia?) uitae
Et tandem fessus disce coire domi.
Alma quidem varias facies Natura puellis, 15
Vasa eadem cunctis sed dedit aequa Venus.
Nil Helene differt a Thaide, Thais ab Anna.
Omnibus est eadem rima, saporis idem.

22. DE CALVO LIBIDINOSO

Iurauit quoties meretrices linquere foedas
Caluus et ad spurcas nolle redire lupas.
Quaeris quam longo constantia tempore duret.
Quatuor ad summum uix manet illa dies.
Si quod forte nouum scortum, non ante petitum, 5
Occurrit, subito, nec pudor obstat, adit.
Simplicius peccare potes, periuria tolle,
Calue salax, si te tanta libido rapit.

Stulticia est iurare deos et fallere: per se
 Fraena potest menti ponere quisque suae. 10

23. DE CALVO

Scorta petit versusue facit quicumque uagari,
 Calue, cupit, solus tu sed utrunque facis.

24. ALLUSIO AD POETAE AUSONII VERSUS

Laidas et Glyceras, lasciuae nomina famae,
 Vafra tuo coniux carmine cum legeret,
 Ludere te dixit falsoque in amore iocari,
 Se quoque ut in uero ludere amore putes.

25. AD MATRONAS

Matronae, monitis aures aduertite sanctis,
 Quae colitis casti iura pudica tori.
 Rerum opifex mamas natis formauit alendis,
 Lacteus infantes educet unde liquor. 5
 Turpe dei munus temerare libidine tanta.
 Indignos habitus ponite siqua proba est.
 Humani altrices generis uelate papillas.
 Hoc habitu foedas uix decet ire lupas.

26. AD THAIDEM

Quid me, Thai, uocas? Munus, quod propter adiri
 Quaeque cupit mulier, deficit utrunque mihi.
 Non mihi sunt nummi, non uires: desine, uana,
 Ergo inopem et gelidum, Thai, uocare senem.

27. PECCATA AFFECTU IPSO ESSE PARIA

“Turpe seni, fateor, scortari; turpe marito
 Moechari, fateor: crimen utrunque graue est.
 Vnicuique suum est. Infamis patrat Amyllus
 Quo nullum toto turpius orbe scelus,
 Ille sed est iuuenis. Iuuenis scortabar et ipse. 5
 Qui fuimus iuuenes, ii sumus inde senes.
 Non habet uxorem, verum sanabile deficit

Cui medicus tantum, cui medicina malum est.
 Non bene ago, fateor, sed longe peius Amyllus.
 Cuique libido sua est. Parcite si qua mihi est": 10
 Haec Matho, qui, dum se a uitio conatur aperto
 Expurgare, duos increpat ore leui.
 Sunt paria affectu peccandi crimina. Peccat
 Corruptus satis hic cui semel est animus.

28. IN PULCHERRIMUM CUBICULUM

Viuendum laete locus admonet undique ridens.
 Ex hilari tristis limine maeror eat.
 Hoc Venus, hoc Musae lustrant Charitesque cubile.
 Carpe memor, fugiunt gaudia, quisquis ades.

29. ALIUD

Laeta domus ridet. Turpes discedite curae.
 Hanc Amor, hanc Charites, hanc Cytherea colunt.
 Dulcia securae decerpite gaudia uitae
 Dum licet. Hic maestum conuenit esse nihil.

30. AD PUELLAE SPECIOSISSIMAE AMATOREM

Quid mandas laudanda tuae speciosa puellae
 Munera? Sol radios pandit ubique suos.
 Auricomum dicamne decus frontisne serenae
 Sidera lucifera splendidiora face, 5
 Molliter impressas turgenti pectore mamas,
 Oscula Paestanis anteferenda rosis?
 Palladias dicamne manus solidosne lacertos?
 Vix infinitum singula laudet opus.
 Nota tibi et cunctis haec sunt extrinseca. Quaedam
 Nota tibi et paucis tu tibi solus habe, 10
 Neue leui cures thesauros prodere uulgo,
 Sed tacite felix utere sorte tua.

31. AD EUNDEM

Quaere alios comites. Quaenam imprudentia nostra est?
 Non comitem dominum te decet esse mihi.

Te decorat titulis virtus pulcherrima claris.
 Pressa iacet mea sors inferiore loco.
 Tu iuuenis firmusque; senex ego debilis, aegrum 5
 Rheumate continuo quem pituita tenet.
 Fudit opes pleno largas tibi Copia cornu;
 At me paupertas pernicioosa premit.
 Te fouet explosis riualibus inclyta, qua non
 Pulchrior in terris ulla puella uiget,
 Gallicus infami signat quam stigmatē morbus. 10
 Est mihi de vili plaebe petenda venus.
 Non bene mus taurusque iugo sotiantur eodem.
 Sint comites aequa conditione decet.

32. QUOD SENUM VITIA SINT PEIORA QUAM IUVENUM

Insanos agitat iuuenes furiosa libido,
 In venerem nulla qui ratione ruent.
 Corrumunt grauiora senes peccata pudendos:
 Ambitio atque auri prodigiosa fames.
 Se spoliāt iuuenis, sed egentem ditat amicam; 5
 Efficiunt ditem damna aliena senem.
 Auctori ergo nocent iuuenilia crimina soli;
 Ipsa sibi et multis noxa senilis obest.

33. AD NIGRINAM

Amissam non flet maerens Nigrina parentem.
 Viuit anus. Quonam vulnere laesa dolet?
 Mennula, Lampsacio famosus munere, Pisas
 Belligeras abiens Lydaque castra petit.
 Ignosco, miseranda, graui, Nigrina, dolori. 5
 Iactura est rebus maxima facta tuis.

34. AD MENNULLAM STRATIOTAM

Paruo tibi qui Mennulae indidit nomen,
 Blaese uocauit mentulam. Sed errauit,
 Facilius et dicturus aptius mentam.

35. AD EUNDEM

Flere decet nostras, Tuscas gaudere puellas.
 Deseris has; illas, Mennula care, petis.
 Oris inest morumque tibi, Stratiota, uenustas
 Nulla, queas at qua parte placere palam est.

36. AD EUNDEM

Quam iucunda manent Hetruscas gaudia matres,
 Mennula memerosus quas Stratiota petit.
 Non coma, non facies illi quibus urat amantes:
 Parte alia captas vtiliore iuuat.

37. AD PUELLAM ELEGANTISSIMAM

Poma tibi primam, dant Attica mella secundam,
 Vltima de niueo syllaba lacte uenit.
 Poma rubent: tibi labra genae. Sunt dulcia mella:
 Vincis Hymeteos tota uenusta fauos.
 Lac niueum: niueus nitor est tibi corpore toto. 5
 Muneribus nomen conuenit ergo tuis.

38. DE GENERE VOCABULORUM CUNNUS ET PRIAPUS

Grammatici hunc cunnum sicut dixere, priapum
 Dicere debuerant hanc ratione pari.

39. DE AUGUSTO MILITE

Incipit Augustus: "Verbi memor effuge mustum
 Et venerem, uitiet nec tibi lympham merum".

40. CORDOLIUM EX AMORE

Hac igitur rursus quod non aetate putabam,
 Insidiis plector, saeue Cupido, tuis.
 Et mihi foemineo miserum cor surripit astu
 Illa canis, poenas nil miserata meas.
 Illa canis, tandem proprio quam nomine prodam, 5
 Vulnera uel fuerit mille necesse pati,
 Allexit facili me consuetudine primum:

Moribus allexit blanditiisque suis.
 Mox, ubi ceruici manibus pedibusque catenas
 Iniecit, iam non quod fuit ante manet. 10
 Continuo semel admittit uix mense nouasque
 Tum longas causas consuit usque morae.
 Discrucior, superest alto medicina dolori
 Nulla, leuant morbum pharmaca nulla grauem.
 Res, loquor expertus, uiridi tolerabilis aeuo 15
 Dura sine exemplo est in sene verus amor.

41. AD AMICAM PHYLLIDA

Seu uigilo, uigilans de te, mea, cogito, Phylli;
 Dormio: sunt de te somnia, Phylli mea.
 Denique, quicquid ago, tibi totus inhaereo, Phylli.
 Vna anima est tecum, Phylli, eademque mihi.

42. CORDOLIUM

Munus amor nempe est iuuenili aetate decorum.
 Quisquis amat iuuenem, nobile pectus habet.
 Sunt senes ab amore procul canente capillo:
 Res perridicula est captus amore senex.
 Exornat iuuenem generoso pectora cultu, 5
 Insanire senum pectora cogit amor.

43. AD PHYLLIDA

Phylli, negas; das, Phylli: haec me inconstantia perdit.
 Ne peream, uel da, Phylli, uel usque nega.

44. AD PHYLLIDA

Phyllis amor meus est ficto sed nomine; verum
 Pandere non tutum est: phasque pudorque uetant.
 Cur igitur capior non tuto stultus amore?
 Cur quod amare nephas insipienter amo?
 Phylli, vale, victus rationi cedere cogor. 5
 Vitandum est omni quod ratione caret.

45. AD AMICUM

Reddiderit ne te iactes quod Paula decorum.
 Noluit hoc; maius, cum uolet, illa petet.

46. DE BARBARA

Barbara prostabat; prostantem rarus adibat,
 Exigua facilis cum stipe posset emi.
 Vsque adeo affectus ciet inconcessa voluptas:
 Mille procos, postquam Barbara nupsit, habet.

47. EX VITA AELII VERI APUD SPARTIANUM

Est dignitatis uxor, haud voluptatis,
 Nomen. Maritus continet grauis sese,
 Libidinis congredi modis parcens.
 Externa lucta munus exhibet gratum.
 Odit pudicae coniugis Venus mores, 5
 Blandos reseruans mollibus iocos scortis
 Vagosque tactus basiationesque.
 Ad procreandos liberos data est vxor,
 Tutela praesens, columen et domus sanctum.

48. DE VENERE, PRIAPO, ET MARTE

Tractabat clypeum procax Dione,
 Marti zelotypo studens placere.
 Turgens inguine stabat ut proteruo,
 “Pone o pone”, Priapus inquit “illis
 Arma haec sunt manibus decentiora”. 5
 Riualet metuens periculosum,
 Tum sic Armipotens: “Facesse monstrum
 Obscoenae temerariaeque caudae,
 Cui falx haud temere additur recurua.
 Est, ut blandula tractat arma, ludens, 10
 Haud experta semel mihi esse praesto
 Quae tractet dea serio iocoque”.

49. IDEM

Tractanti clypeum Veneri inquit "Pone" Priapus
 "Conueniunt manibus haec magis arma tuis".
 Tum Mars impatiens et iusta percitus ira:
 Quam bene falx istec monstra pudenda decet.
 Allia uel corpus, siqua est tibi, tractet amica. 5
 Sunt mihi quae deceant, inuide, quaeque iuuent.

50. DE CUIUSDAM SOCRUS SIMPLICITATE

"Sextilis, mea nata, saeuus instat.
 Sponso parcere sis memor salaci,
 Luctam ne repetens frequentiore
 Morbos incidat in graues repente.
 Tangi quotidie semel sat esto. 5
 Ad summum patiari bis nec ultra.
 Aestus cesserit insolens ubi mox,
 Totam ne dare te negaris unquam,
 Vel si comprimat octies in hora".
 O quam prouida, quam benigna socrus, 10
 Saluum quae generum uelit nouellum.

51. AD MODESTUM

Ludit tecum Ariadna uafra de me,
 Nam te deperit impotenter amens.
 Illam tu lepide obiicis mihi quod
 Dudum perditte amas habesque cordi.
 Nec me Lyncea propter hoc uocaris 5
 Audax quod ualeat uidere cantor,
 Quod litis miser arbiter iocosae,
 A me nec metuas, tua est puella
 Communis mihi nempe parte nulla.
 Totam cedo tibi libens uolensque, 10
 Lustrorum memor undecim meorum.
 Scortillum tibi habe uoluptuosum
 Lascium petulansque garrulumque,
 Vix quarto iuuenis Modeste lustro.
 Cuius me insimulas iocus, nec ille 15
 Exemplum facit ad Catonianum

Laudauit Cato fornice exeuntem,
 Albenti puto non coma, sed illum
 Aetati similem tuae salaci.
 Sed non sobrius ipse forsā: olim 20
 Aiunt ut solitum mero madere.
 Haec lasciuiā uix decet iuuentam;
 Canae turpius est nihil senectae.
 Ludicrum sene nullum amante maius,
 Vas ingens salis Attici, Modeste. 25

52. AD PAULAM

Paula, negas. Insto, sed dum nimis ipsa reluctas,
 Longam inter luctam mens mihi sana redit.
 Desino, miraris. Mirari desine, teque
 Vafra noua posthac calliditate dato.
 Si fortasse olim repetam, concede repente. 5
 Nec dato tam longum consilio spacium.
 Dum stimulat praeceps ac inconsulta libido,
 Multa iuuant quae mox facta fuisse pudet.

53. AD AMICUM IOCOSE

Quod me iunior elegantiorque
 Ficto nomine Socratem uocaris,
 Vis Alcibiades mihi esse forsā.

54. AD EPHOEBUM ELEGANTEM THORACE INDUTUM

Quid thorace tegis corpus? Nil parte timendum est
 Hac tibi: parte alia uulnus, ephoebe, caue.

55. IOCOSE AD AMICUM

Robore praestanti iuuenem rus ducis; et eius
 Velle piros, malos dicis ope inserere.
 Scire velim de te, tuus insitor ille peritus
 Norit an et ficus qualiter inseritur.

56. MULIEBRIS FACILITATIS EXCUSATIO

Vsque adeo in venerem stimulis agitur acutis
 Feminei sexus lubrica mollicies:
 Quod sint tam faciles mirari desino multae;
 Miror sunt aliquae si modo difficiles.

57. CASUS DE EQUA

Mortua collapsa est alio temptata meatu,
 Mas uiolenter equam dum male cautus init.
 Debuerat sic turpe scelus Natura notare,
 Sed patratores poena decebat atrox.

58. OBSCOENI CUIUSPIAM SENIS EPITAPHIUM

Hic iacet ille senex (nomenque genusque silebo
 Ne turpi infamet seque suosque nota),
 Scorta domi qui scorta foris tot alebat, ephoebis
 Praeualidis possent quot satis esse decem,
 Pro ferula tremulos famulis subeuntibus artus 5
 Quotidie has illas suetus adire lupas.
 Inter scorta puer seros eductus in annos
 Prae reliquis coluit te, Cytherea, deis.
 Parce rosis, haeres: mingant hoc scorta sepulchro
 Multa iube. Hos manes talia iusta decent. 10

59. VITAE LIBIDINOSAE DETESTATIO

Foeda Venus, qua non pestis praesentior ulla est,
 Parce animum tandem sollicitare pium.
 Ingenium per te misero mihi concidit omne,
 Inficit egregium fama notata decus.
 Deficiunt uires labefacti corporis aegrae, 5
 Duriter aggestae dimminuuntur opes.
 I procul. Ingenium mihi protinus omne redibit,
 Antiquus famae restituetur honos,
 Firmius et morbis alienum corpus amaris
 Viuet, opes fructus utilioris erunt. 10
 Reperit ad sobolem quod opus Natura creandam
 Legitime patret qui cupit esse pater.

60. AD THOMAM PRATENSEM

Longis litibus et laboriosis,
 Natus te quibus impius fatigat
 (Dictum aegre rogo ne feras iocosum),
 Thoma, si bene prouidus fuisses,
 Soluisset semel inquinata lena. 5
 Tam paruus labor ut uoces laborem.
 O quam tedia multa sustulisset,
 O quantum tibi commodi parasset,
 Vita digne senex quietiore.

61. AD AMMIANUM IRRUMATOREM

Dulcem quae tibi dicit esse pennem,
 O quam turpe nefas inepta prodit,
 Nam quod dulce uocetur aut amarum,
 Gustu noscitur, Ammiane, solo.

62. DE FRONTONE INEPTO BASIATORE

Fronto duos stolidus dentes excussit amicae,
 Instantem linguam dum male cauta uorat.
 Ille quidem satis est (quis non fateatur?) ineptus;
 Non tamen est [...]is dentibus illa satis.

63. TURPISSIMA ISTORUM TEMPORUM OBSCOENITAS

In prima memini mea iuuenta:
 Sero uespere pallioque tecti
 Intrabant iuuenes lupanar ipsum,
 Suffusi ingenuo rubore mallas,
 Sanctus quod Cato ferre posset aequae. 5
 Confestim duo tresue quatuorue
 Induxere nouum scelus potentes,
 Poenam nec ueriti seueriorem,
 Paedicare palam; statim receptum est
 Quid fellare foret, quid irrumare: 10
 Molli de numero cinaedulorum
 Ausus prodere nesciebat ullus.
 Nullus draucus erat tribasque nulla.

At nunc (proh facinus!) licentiosi
 Corruptissima turpitudine secli 15
 Verbis dicere quod pudet nefandis
 Horrendo scelus omne patrat ausu;
 Permisso scelus omne patrat usu.
 Tot iam crimina nequiora fiunt,
 Paedicare nihil potest putari. 20

64. VOCABULUM RUSTICANUM

Appellant uietum uirile membrum
 Nostri ruricolae et quidem Latine
 Sed cum significant senile inersque.
 Pennis mentula vel priapus olim,
 Firmo cum foret integrum uigore, 5
 Vt non immerito fuit uocatum,
 Dignum nomine quolibet ducenti:
 Frigescens uietae gelu senectae,
 Apte iam uietum potest uocari,
 Beta languidius Catulliana. 10

65. IN MAGNO ALGORE

Inter testiculos gelido mihi penne latente
 Quaerebam quisnam de tribus ille foret.
 Mingere cum cuperem sumpta de more matella,
 Se demum officio prodidit ipse suo.

66. AD AMICUM

Membrosissimus omnium Priapus,
 Plus aequo superans equouae cunctos
 Dum cunnos cuneo replet omnis
 Praegrandi ualido tumente duro,
 "Est mi foemina laxa nulla" dixit. 5
 Dictum quod repetis tibi iocatus
 Haud sane illepide nec infacete,
 Diuersa ratione forsitan aptum:
 Cuius plumbea debilisque sica,
 Vaginam titubans ad interiorem, 10

Condi uix patulo potest hyatu,
Quouis obice se statim reflectens.

67. AD CRISPINUM

Appellat qui te natum, Crispine, fatetur
Haud dubie matrem se fuisse tuam.

NOTES on the TEXT

(Praef.) 1 exiguus...libellus: Ov. *Ibis* 447. 2 Insignem titulum: Cic. *Tusc.* V 30; Liv. IV 29.6, XXX 45.7; Luc. VIII 73. alma Venus: cf. esp. Lucret. I 2; Verg. *Aen.* I 618, X 332; Ov. e.g. *Met.* X 230, XIV 478, XV 844, *Tr.* II 262; Stat. *Siluae* I 2.52.

¹ 1 dulcis amaraque: cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 3.110. 2 Ocia...irrequieta: Ov. *Tr.* II 235-236. Bellica pax: cf. John Gower, *Est Amor in Glossa* 1 "pax bellica, lis pietosa" (ed. G.C. Macaulay, *The Complete Works of John Gower*, IV, Oxford 1902, p. 359).

² 1 Cf. *Carmina Burana* 154.1 "Est Amor alatus puer et leuis, est pharetratus" (edd. Alfons Hilka and Otto Schumann, I.2, Heidelberg 1941, p. 261); cf. also Hans Walther, *Initia Carminum ac Versuum Medii Aevi Posterioris Latinorum* (Göttingen 1959), nos. 5574, 5818, 12352. pharetratus: cf. Ov. *Am.* II 5.1.

³ 1 iuueni Myso: Propert. II 1.63; Ov. *Pont.* II 2.26. 2 Haesit...hasta: Verg. *Aen.* IX 418-419, XI 803-804; Ov. *Met.* XV 162. Achillea... manu: Ov. *Fasti* V 396. Pelias hasta: Ov. esp. *Pont.* II 2.26 but cf. also *Her.* 3.126, *Ars* I 696, *Rem.* 48, *Met.* XIII 109, *Pont.* I 7.52. repetitum uulnus: Ov. *Met.* XII 287. 6 causa salutis: e.g. Lucret. III 324, III 348; Ov. *Her.* 10.143, *Tr.* III 9.24; Vulg. *Hebr.* 5.9.

⁴ *Tit.* Geliam: this name appears frequently in Martial (*Epig.* I 33.1, I 33.3, III 55.3, IV 20.2, V 17.3, V 17.4, V 29.1, V 29.4, VI 67.1, VI 67.2, VI 90.1, VIII 81.4); cf. also *Hist. Aug.*, Alexander Severus 38.1-2, quoting in 38.2 Mart. *Epig.* V 29. 4 coruo...columba: cf. Juv. 2.63.

⁵ See Macrobius *Sat.* II 5.9. 2 fallere docta: Tibull. I 9.37; Sil. X 187. 4 Macrobius *Sat.* II 5.9 "'numquam enim nisi naui plena tollo uectorem'". For the remark of Julia see J.N. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary*, London 1982 (cited hereafter as Adams), p. 167.

⁶ *Tit. Nysam*: this personal name occurs in Vergil *Ecl.* 8.18 and 8.26. 7 *fatuos*: *fato fatuos* (*fato deleted*) *MS.* *modereris amores*: cf. Ov. *Met.* IV 234-235. 10 *Inesperata...gaudia*: cf. Ter. *Heaut.* 414; Liv. XXIX 32.13; Curtius VIII 4.27; Gellius III 15 pr. and III 15.1; Apuleius *Met.* I 17.

⁷ 1 *Dii superi*: Hor. *Carm.* IV 7.18, *Epist.* II 1.138. *regina Venus*: Hor. *Carm.* I 30.1; Propert. IV 5.65. *pharetrate Cupido*: Ov. *Am.* II 5.1. 2 *felix...sopor*: Stat. *Theb.* V 451. 3 *mulserunt...pectus*: Verg. *Aen.* V 816; *Ciris* 341; Stat. *Theb.* X 672-673. 5 *Somnus...placidus*: Ov. *Met.* VI 489, VII 153, *Fasti* II 635, III 185, IV 549; Apuleius *Met.* V 1; *Ilias Latina* 634. *Somnus...perrepserat*: cf. Hor. *Ars* 360; Ov. *Her.* 19.46; Seneca the Younger *Tro.* 441, *Epist.* 36.9; Stat. *Theb.* I 339-340, VIII 217. *lassos...artus*: Ov. *Her.* 15.161; Luc. III 623. 6 *noctis iter*: Ennius (Varro, *De Ling. Lat.* VII 73.2; cf. also *ibid.* VI 2.6); Verg. *Aen.* X 162; Luc. X 333; Sil. VI 71; Valer. Flaccus IV 424; Stat. *Theb.* VIII 144; Apuleius *Met.* I 15; 7 *nexis* — *lacertis*: Ov. *Met.* XI 240. 7-8 *colla...* *Candida*: Verg. *Georg.* IV 337; Propert. III 17.29; Ov. *Am.* I 5.10, *Ars* II 457, *Met.* IX 388-389. 10 *animam dilacerare*: cf. Tacit. *Ann.* VI 6.2 “*animus dilaceretur*”. 11 *blandis...susurris*: Propert. I 11.13. 12 For the idea of dying in intercourse (here, dying from love), see Adams p. 159. 14 *uultus...umbra*: Petron. 103.2. 15 *uera sub imagine*: Petron. 60.9; Seneca the Younger *Ben.* VII 27.1; Quint. *Inst.* V 12.17; Tacit. *Ann.* IV 52.2.

⁸ See Poggio *Facetiae* 181 (Poggio Bracciolini, *Facezie*, edd. Eugenio Garin and Marcello Ciccuto, Milan 1983, p. 312). 3 *patulos...meatus*: cf. Ov. *Met.* III 162, XI 60; Sil. II 119, III 34; Mart. *Epig.* III 19.3; cf. Adams p. 89. 4 *Editus in lucem*: e.g. Lucilius (Nonius 78M); Cic. *Tusc.* I 115; Ov. *Met.* XV 221; Gellius XII 5.7.

⁹ 1 *petulans lasciuia*: Rutilius Lupus *Schem.* I 18. *Veneri* — *pauca*: cf. Hor. *Carm.* I 9.9.

¹⁰ *Tit. Paulam*: this name (also in the title of poem 52 below) appears in Mart. *Epig.* I 74.1, I 74.2, VI 6.1, VI 6.2, IX 10.1, X 8.1, XI 7.1, XI 7.14. 3 *lenone ministro*: cf. *Hist. Aug.*, Commodus Antonianus 2.9. 5 *extinxit amoris*: cf. Seneca the Younger *Epist.* 99.24; cf. Serv. *Aen.* IV 491 and *Georg.* IV 507.

¹¹ 6 *Succubuit...puella*: Ov. *Fasti* II 810. *longa prece*: Cic. *Epist. Ad Brutum* 21.2. 7 *levis ingenii*: Liv. XXII 43.5; Seneca the Younger *Epist.* 56.12; Serv. *Ecl.* 9.36. 8 *plaurumque=plerumque*.

¹² *Tit. Pontico*: this name appears in Mart. *Epig.* II 32.2, II 82.1, II 60.9, IV 85.1, V 63.2, IX 19.2, IX 41.1, IX 41.10. 1 *arrecto*: cf. *Priap.*

68.32. 3 Dic mihi Dameta: Verg. *Ecl.* 3.1. 5 Parta meae Veneri: Verg. *Ecl.* 3.68.

¹³ 2 teneram...puellam: *Copa* 33; Propert. II 25.41; Tibull. I 10.64, III 12.2; Ov. e.g. *Am.* III 7.53, *Her.* 14.87, *Ars* I 403; Mart. *Epig.* I 109.16, III 65.1, XIV 149.1. 5 pigram...uenerem: cf. *Moretum* 84. 7 Erucac: for the reputation of colewort as an aphrodisiac see e.g. *Priap.* 46.8 and 51.20, *Moretum* 84, Ov. *Rem.* 799-800, Mart. *Epig.* III 75.2-3. 8 palaestras: cf. Mart. *Epig.* X 55.4 and Adams pp. 158, 229. 10 chaos...molem: Ov. *Met.* I 7. 11; Ov. *Met.* I 70 and I 7. 14 meatus: cf. 8.3, supra. 16 salacis herbae: Ov. *Ars* II 422; Mart. *Epig.* X 48.10. The adjective "salax" is applied to "eruca" in *Priap.* 51.20, Ov. *Rem.* 799, and Mart. *Epig.* III 75.3.

¹⁴ *Tit.* Phyllide: the name Phyllis, which also appears in the title of poems 41, 43, 44 below, occurs in Mart. *Epig.* X 81.1, X 81.3, XI 29.2, XI 29.8, XI 49.1, XI 49.12, XII 65.1, XII 65.9. 3 fessa: fersa *MS*; "fessus" sometimes is used with an infinitive, as in Seneca the Younger *Oed.* 170 and Claudian 20 (*In Eutr. Liber Alter*) 367. 5 e multis legit: Cic. *Orat.* 190.

¹⁵ 2 Mente...attonita: Luc. V 476; "Quint." *Decl. Maior.* 9.9.

¹⁶ 1 cor arundine fixit acuta: Mart. *Epig.* X 16.1.

¹⁷ 1 Vesano...amore: Pliny the Elder VII 127. Caluus: this name perhaps occurs in the title of Mart. *Epig.* XIV 196.

¹⁸ 2 uiduo...toro: Propert. II 9.16; Ov. *Am.* III 5.42, *Her.* 5.106, 10.14, 16.318, *Tr.* V 5.48. Penelopea: for this extremely rare adjective see *Priap.* 68.28. 6 itque reditque: Verg. *Aen.* VI 122; Tibull. II 6.46; Ov. *Her.* 15.118, *Tr.* V 7.14; Sil. XIII 561; Mart. *Epig.* I 48.2, VI 10.8; Stat. *Theb.* I 102, VIII 49; Valer. Flaccus I 725, VIII 331. 8 asellus: cf. *Priap.* 52.9; Petron. 24.7; Poggio *Facetiae* 63 (edd. Garin and Ciccuto p. 184).

¹⁹ See Pliny the Younger *Epist.* VI 24. 4 Fluctiuaga: for this rare adjective see Stat. *Siluae* II 1.95 and III 1.84, *Theb.* I 271, IX 305, IX 360; Sedul. *Carmen Paschale* V 395; Prudent. *Cathemerinon* III 46. 5 uicinus Larius: cf. Pliny the Younger *Epist.* VI 24.2; cf. Serv. *Georg.* II 159. 8 sui: notice the unusual synizesis.

²⁰ 2 ueneri indulgens: cf. Valer. Flaccus II 355-356.

²¹ 1 quae — cogit: cf. Catull. 40.1-2. Verse 11 of *Venus* refers apparently to the area of the Palatine Hill in Rome. 16 vas: cf. Adams p. 88. 17 Thaide: the famous courtesan, noticed e.g. in Ov. *Rem.* 383-386; other women were also named Thais, as in Ter. *Eun.* e.g. 188, 231, 391

and in Mart. *Epig.* e.g. III 8.1, VI 93.1, XIV 187.2. 18 rima: cf. Adams p. 95.

²² *Tit. Caluo*: for this name see on 17.1, supra. 1 foedas: turpes (foedas added to the margin by the scribe; cf. 25.8, infra: foedas...lupas) *MS.* 2 spurcas...lupas: Mart. *Epig.* I 34.8. 8 libido rapit: Juv. 8.135. 9 iurare — fallere: cf. Ov. *Her.* 20.198.

²³ *Tit. Caluo*: for the name see on 17.1, supra.

²⁴ Auson. *Epig.* 39. 4 ludere amore: Lucret. IV 1101; Propert. II 25.27; Ov. *Tr.* III 3.73, IV 10.1, V 1.22; Mart. *Epig.* XIV 187.1.

²⁵ 1 monitis aures aduertite: Propert. I 1.37; cf. also Ov. *Fasti* I 179. 2 casti iura...tori: Ov. *Her.* 286. 3 Rerum opifex: Ov. *Met.* I 79; Seneca the Elder *Contr.* X 5.15; Luc. X 267.

²⁶ 1 Thaidem: see on 21.17, supra.

²⁷ 1 Ov. *Am.* I 9.4.3 Amyllus: the name Amillus occurs in Mart. *Epig.* VII 62.1. 7 sanabile: insanabile *MS.* 11 Matho: cf. esp. Juv. 1.32, 7.129, 11.34; Mart. *Epig.* IV 79.1, VI 33.1, VII 10.3-4, VII 90.1-2, VIII 42.3, X 46.1, XI 68.2. 11 increpat ore: *Ilias Latina* 342, 817.

²⁸ 2 tristis: turpis (tristis added to the margin by the scribe) *MS.* 4 Carpe...fugiant gaudia: Mart. *Epig.* VII 47.11; cf. also Ov. *Her.* 15.109 and Petron. 128.6.verse 7.

²⁹ 1 Laeta domus: cf. Lucret. III 894; Ov. *Her.* 16.91, *Fasti* IV 543; Phaedrus IV 26.21; Seneca the Younger *Herc. Fur.* 161 and *Oed.* 627.

³⁰ 2 radios — ubique: cf. Lucret. VI 737. 3 Auricomum: for this rare adjective see Verg. *Aen.* VI 141; Sil. III 608; Valer. Flaccus IV 92; Macrobian *Sat.* V 14.8; Auson. *Technopaegnion* 11.2; Martianus Capella I 12. dicamne...frontisne: for the rare use of “-ne...-ne” in questions (see also 30.7 below), cf. Verg. *Aen.* XI 126. frontisne serenae: Verg. *Aen.* IV 477; Mart. *Epig.* VII 12.1; Sil. II 414, III 298; Stat. *Siluae* I 3.91-92, II 6.65-66; Apuleius *Met.* IX 27. 4-6 lucifera...Paestanis rosis: Pseudo-Ausonius *De Rosis* 11-12. 6 Paestanis...rosis: *ibid.*; Mart. *Epig.* IV 42.10; cf. also Ov. *Pont.* II 4.28. Palladias manus: Seneca the Younger *Med.* 366. 12 utere sorte tua: Verg. *Aen.* XII 932.

³¹ senex...debilis: Cic. *Phil.* 8.31; *Hist. Aug.*, Maximini Duo 18.1; Servius *Aen.* II 434. 6 pleno...Copia cornu: Hor. *Carm. Saec.* 59-60, *Epist.* I 12.29. 11 plaebe=plebe.

³² 1 furiosa libido: Ov. *Ars* I 281. 4 auri...fames: Verg. *Aen.* III 57; *Laus Pisonis* 219-220; Pliny the Elder XXXIII 48, XXXIII 72; *Octavia* 425. 6 damna aliena: Ov. *Met.* XV 547-548; Stat. *Siluae* V 5.47.

³³ *Tit. Nigrinam*: this name appears in *Mart. Epig.* IV 75.1 and IX 30.3. 3 *Lampsacio*: this very rare adjective occurs in *Mart. Epig.* XI 16.3 and XI 51.2. 3 *munere*: cf. Adams p. 164.

³⁴ 3 *menta*: cf. Adams pp. 9-10.

³⁶ 2 *membrosus*: this extremely rare adjective appears in *Priap.* 1.5; cf. Adams p. 46.

³⁷ *Tit. Puellam*: her name is Pomella, as spelled by the clues of the poem. 1 *Attica mella*: *Ov. Medic. Faciei* 82; *Mart. Epig.* XIII 108.1. 2 *niueo...lacte*: *Verg. Ecl.* 2.20; *Tibull.* III 2.20, III 5.34; *Ov. Met.* XIII 829, *Fasti* IV 151, IV 780. 4 *Hymeteos* = *Hymetteos*.

³⁸ 1 *priapum*: cf. *Juv.* 29.95, also Adams p. 230.

³⁹ 2 *lympha merum*: *Tibull.* III 6.58.

⁴⁰ *Tit. Cordolium*: this very rare word is found in *Plautus Cist.* 65 and *Poen.* 299 and also in *Apuleius Met.* IX 21. 2 *saeue Cupido*: cf. *Ov. Am.* I 1.3, I 1.5; *Stat. Siluae* II 1.214. 3 *mihi...cor surripit*: cf. *Catull.* 51.5-6. 6 *Vulnera...mille...pati*: *Ov. Met.* XII 171; cf. also *Ov. Met.* VI 617 and *Petron.* 124 verses 259-260. 12 *causa — morae*: cf. *Verg. Aen.* IV 51. 13 *Discrucior*: cf. *Catull.* 85.2. 13 *medicina dolori*: *Stat. Siluae* V 1.16. 15 *uiridi...aeuo*: *Ov. Tr.* III 1.7, IV 10.17; *Stat. Theb.* IV 274.

⁴¹ *Tit. Phyllida*: see on 14 *Tit.*, supra. 3 *totus inhaereo*: *Cic. Fin.* II 106. 4 *Vna anima*: *Verg. Aen.* X 529; *Ov. Met.* III 473; *Vulg. Num.* 15.27, 31.28.

⁴² 1 *Munus amor*: cf. *Ov. Am.* II 15.2-3, *Fasti* IV 720. 2 *nobile pectus*: *Ov. Pont.* III 3.99-100. 6 *pectora cogit amor*: *Verg. Aen.* IV 412.

⁴³ *Tit. Phyllida*: see on 14 *Tit.*, supra. 2 *da...nega*: *Mart. Epig.* IV 71.6.

⁴⁴ *Tit. Phyllida*: see on 14 *Tit.*, supra. 1 *ficto...nomine*: *Ov. Her.* 16.245. 4 *insipienter*: this word, rare in Classical Latin, appears in *Plautus Mil.* 561 and *Truc.* 827; *Cic. Sen.* 68, *Fam.* V 20.4. The word also stands in *Vulg.* 1 *Par.* 21.8 and *Job* 42.3. 6 *ratione caret*: *Ov. Am.* I 10.25 and *Fasti* III 119.

⁴⁶ For the theme of this poem cf. *Mart. Epig.* I 73. 3 *inconcessa uoluptas*: *Ov. Am.* III 4.31. 4 *Mille procos*: *Ov. Met.* XI 302; *Stat. Siluae* III 5.8.

⁴⁷ Cf. *Hist. Aug.*, *Aelius Verus* 5.11 "idem uxori conquerenti de extraneis uoluptatibus dixisse fertur: 'patere me per alias exercere cupiditates meas: uxor enim dignitatis nomen est, non uoluptatis'". 4 *lucta*: cf. Adams pp. 157-159. *munus gratum*: *Ov. Am.* II 15.3; *Mart. Epig.* VIII 28.1, XIV 60.1; *Pliny the Younger Epist.* III 8.4; *Apuleius Apol.*

61. 5 pudicae coniugis: Hor. *Carm.* III 5.41. 6 iocos: cf. Adams pp. 161-162. 7 basiationes: this very rare word is found in Catull. 7.1 and in Mart. *Epig.* II 23.4 and VII 95.17. 9 Tutela presens: Hor. *Carm.* IV 14.43.

⁴⁸ 1 Tractabat: cf. Adams p. 186. 3 inguine: cf. Adams p. 47. 5 Arma...manibus decentiora: cf. Stat. *Theb.* IX 332. 8 caudae: cf. Adams pp. 36-37. 10 arma: cf. Mart. *Epig.* VI 73.6 and Adams p. 17. ludens: cf. Adams pp. 161-163, 223, 225.

⁴⁹ 1 Tractanti: cf. Adams p. 186. 4 falx: cf. Adams p. 24. monstrum: cf. Adams p. 34. tractet: cf. Adams p. 186. 5 Allia=Alia *metri causa*.

⁵⁰ 4 Morbos incidat in graues: e.g. Cic. *Clu.* 175, 198, *Sen.* 67; Nepos, *Dion* 2.4; *Hist. Aug.*, Hadrianus 23.1; Poggio *Facetiae* 249 (edd. Garin and Ciccuto p. 380). 5 Tangi: cf. Adams pp. 185-186. 9 compri-mat: cf. Adams pp. 182-183.

⁵¹ *Tit.* Modestum: for this name see Mart. *Epig.* X 21.1. 1 uafra: this adjective is rare in the feminine but see Mart. *Epig.* VI 64.26 and XII 66.3. 2 te deperit impotenter: Catull. 35.12. 7 lis...arbiter iocosae: Ov. *Met.* III 332, *Ibis* 261. 10 cedo tibi...uolensque: cf. Ov. *Am.* I 13.27. 8-9 puella Communis: *Priap.* 34.2-3. 12 Scortillum: Catull. 10.3 (this is the only appearance in Classical Latin of the diminutive of "scortum": see Kenneth Quinn, *Catullus, The Poems*, 2nd edition, London 1973, p. 121 "A diminutive, found only here"). 15 me insimulas: Cic. *Fam.* VII 13.1. 17 fornice exeuntem: for this expression and the entire episode see Hor. *Serm.* I 2.31-35. 18 Albenti...coma: Ov. *Pont.* IV 12.30. 20-21 For the notion that Cato was fond of strong wine see Hor. *Carm.* III 21.9-12. 21 mero: *corr.*, it seems, from *merito MS.* mero madere: Tibull. II 28 and cf. Hor. *Carm.* III 21.13.

⁵² *Tit.* Paulam: see on 10 *Tit.*, supra. 2 mens...sana: Juv. 10.356. mens...redit: cf. Celsus III 18 (twice). 3 mirari desine: Mart. *Spect.* 25.2, *Epig.* VI 89.8; cf. also Ov. *Am.* I 4.7; see also 56.3, infra.

⁵³ 2-3 Socratem...Alcibiades: cf. Petron. 128.7.

⁵⁵ 1 Robore praestanti: Liv. XXIII 26.11. 4 ficus: see Adams p. 113.

⁵⁶ stimulis agitur: Ov. *Fasti* II 779; "Quint." *Decl.* 324. 3 mirari desino: see on 52.3, supra.

⁵⁷ 1 meatus: cf. 8.3 and 13.14, supra. 2 init: cf. Adams pp. 190-191.

⁵⁸ Cf. Panormitanus (Antonio Beccadelli), *Hermaphroditus* I 7 (ed. Donatella Coppini, Rome 1990, pp. 16-17): the poem of Panormitanus is the epitaph for an immoral lame man, called Pegasus, who desires lewd behavior to take place at his tomb.

⁵⁹ Foeda Venus: cf. Verg. *Aen.* IV 195. 12 patret: cf. Adams pp. 142-143; cf. also 63.17 and 63.18, *infra*. 5 Deficiunt uires: Hor. *Serm.* II 1.12-13; "Quint." *Decl. Maior.* 12.17; Poggio, *Facetiae* 243 (edd. Garin and Ciccuto p. 374). 11 Reperit=Repperit.

⁶⁰ 3 Curved brackets enclose this verse in the manuscript. 5 inquinata: cf. Adams pp. 198-199.

⁶¹ *Tit.* Ammianum: this name appears in Mart. *Epig.* II 4.1, II 4.2, II 17.4, IV 70.1, IV 70.4. *Tit.* irrumatorem: see Adams pp. 2, 125-130, 133-134, also Quinn, *Catullus*, pp. 143-144.

⁶² *Tit.* Frontone: the name Fronto appears in Mart. *Epig.* I 55.2, V 34.1, XIV 106.2. 1 dentes excussit: Juv. 16.10; *Hist. Aug.*, M. Aurelius Claudianus 13.6, 13.7. 4 The word after "est" is partly blotted in the manuscript. Professor Edward Courtney kindly suggests (by letter of 27 April 1992) that the mostly illegible text might read "firmis". I think that his view can be supported by Sil. X 127: "Nondum sat firmo catuli certamina dente", but the reading remains uncertain.

⁶³ 4 Suffusi...rubore: Ov. *Am.* III 3.5; Pliny the Younger *Epist.* I 14.8 and *Paneg.* 48.4; Apuleius *Met.* II 2. 4 mallas=malas ("cheeks"). 9 Paedicare=Pedicare: cf. Adams pp. 2, 123-125 and Quinn, *Catullus*, p. 143. 10 fellare: cf. Adams pp. 126, 130-133. 10 irrumare: see on 61 *Tit.*, *supra*. 11 cinaedulorum: "cinaedulus" seems to occur in Classical Latin only in an oration of Scipio Africanus Aemilianus as quoted by Macrobius. *Sat.* III 14.7; cf. Adams pp. 123, 132, 194, 228; "cinoedule" appears in Pontanus's *Amores*, In Antoninum Cinoedum, verse 1 (pr. in *Quinque illustrium poetarum lusus in Venerem*, Paris 1791, p. 156). 17, 18 patrat: see on 59.12, *supra*. 20 Paedicare=Pedicare.

⁶⁴ 1 uietum: the *e* of the second syllable is shortened (also in 64.9 and in "uietae" of 64.8), but cf. Hor. *Epod.* 12.7, where "uietis" has the regular long *e*; nothing on the sexual term appears in Adams. uirile membrum: according to Adams p. 46, "membrum uirile" is not found before Tertullian. 6 non immerito: quondam (*deleted*, non immerito *superscript*) *MS.* 10 Catulliana beta: Catull. 67.21 "languidior tenera...beta"; see Adams p. 26.

⁶⁶ 1-2 Membrosissimus...plus aequo: *Priap.* 1.5 "membrosior aequo". 5 foemina laxa: *Priap.* 18.2 "laxa quod esse mihi femina nulla potest"; cf. also *Priap.* 46.5, Mart. *Epig.* XI 21.1, and cf. Adams pp. 46, 96, 173. 9 debilisque: debilesque *MS.* sica: cf. Catull. 67.21 and cf. Adams pp. 21, 220. 11 patulo...hyatu: *Priap.* 12.13; Ov. *Met.* III 162, XI 60; Sil. II 119, III 34; Mart. *Epig.* III 19.3 and III 72.5; cf. Adams pp. 95-96.

⁶⁷ *Tit. Crispinum*: this name occurs in Hor. *Serm.* I 1.20, I 3.139, I 4.14, II 7.45; Pers. V 126; Juv. 1.27 and *Sat.* 4 passim; and in Mart. *Epig.* VII 99.1, VIII 48.1, VIII 48.4.

13 De Libidine / fm

Quem liquor parat exstare Lumbos
 Ducturus corpora serae proclum
 Coena luxuriante nuptiali
 Et Xquirus cyclus libidinosis
 Pigram anis venum ferunt cum
 Inter cetera regulum ingentis
 Et vultu patiam uocant amplum
 Tum dulces vinctur in palytras
 Multae nec patiens moras, uenundum
 Dat luto chaos, ubi d' mores
 Ergo massa nodi statim³ fatigat
 Afflictum stomachum gressu dolent
 Et pater finibus nec uno tantum
 Si qua commodior patet mensura
 Ut casum expetiam luri uersum
 Fomento venum solent Lumbos

A.H. VAN DER LAAN

ANTONIUS LIBER SUSATENSIS —
FAMILIARIUM EPISTOLARUM COMPENDIUM*

In this article I will review the *Compendium* of Antonius Liber. I shall discuss its contents and sources in general, and will then concentrate specifically on three items it contains, viz. the letters of Liber and Rodolphus Langius (Von Langen), those of Aquinas, and twelve letters that were inserted anonymously. Quotations will be made directly from the *Compendium*, since the text of Liber's and Langius's letters in Crecelius's two articles (1876 and 1879) contains a number of errors.

It was probably in the year 1475 or 1476 that Antonius Liber (Vrije, Vrye, Vrie, Vrien) composed his *Familiarium epistolarum compendium ex diuersis hinc inde probatissimis autoribus pro communium studencium profectu futurorumque rethorum ac oratorum eruditione per discretum ac eruditum uirum Antonium Liberum zusatensem recollectum*.¹ He was born in Soest in Westphalia, Germany. The date of his birth is unknown, as is much of his youth. He studied at different universities, and (part of) his studies were financed by the abbey of Aduard.² His matriculation at any of the German universities cannot be proved. From his own letters and from a poem by Fridericus Maurus (Mormann) dedicated to Liber³ it appears that he studied in Pavia. In February 1469 he was a teacher at St. Martin's School in Groningen, and verger of St. Martin's Church.⁴ In Groningen he was also *notarius* in the early

* I sincerely thank dr. F. Akkerman for helping me write this article, and dr. P. Binkley for correcting my English.

¹ Hain 10072 (= 5229).

² In 1528 Goswinus Halensis, former *famulus* of Wessel Gansfort, wrote to Albert Hardenberg: *Hunc <Antonium Liberum Susatensem> Adwertenses suis sumtibus aluerunt in uniuersitatibus*. See Gansfort, *Opera*, 1614, f. **5r.

³ Schoonbeeg 1993: 338 (VII, 58): *Papia ingenium nec mediocre dedit*.

⁴ Santing 1988: 177. Worstbrock 1985: 747.

seventies,⁵ and there he married his wife Bert(h)a, to whom he wrote a letter in Latin from Cologne. As he indicates himself in his dedicatory letter to the *Compendium*, he left Groningen for Cologne. There he composed the *Compendium*, which was then printed by Koelhoff the elder along with a grammar written by Liber, and a *De orthographia* edited by him. We know nothing of Liber's other activities at Cologne, though he must have been quite active, if we exclude the possibility that he was kidding his wife when he wrote

... tot sum tantisque rebus inuolutus, ut nesciam aliquando unde mihi sumendum sit laboris initium. Nam nostris se causis publice etiam utilitatis quedam immiscuerunt negotia ... [*Comp.* f. M9^r]

Worstbrock (1985: 748) assumes that Liber also worked for printers at Cologne, because in another letter he mentions a trip he had planned to several universities in the south of Germany with 1500 newly printed books; a trip he had now cancelled, because he had been told that it was not safe to travel through that part of the country.

Qui me inopinatus terror mille et quingenta illa uolumina pro renouatione Latine lingue impressa coegit particularibus studiis communcare. [*Comp.* f. M10^r]

Obviously, Liber meant 1500 copies of the *De orthographia* by Titus Livius de Frulovisiis, which he had edited, and Koelhoff had printed. One could also assume that he had bought these from Koelhoff, and that he was now trying to sell them to make a profit out of it. From the same letter, we learn that Liber planned to leave Cologne and travel to Deventer and Zwolle, and from there to Louvain and Paris. Whether he actually did so remains uncertain. In 1482, when Agricola visited him,⁶ we find him as *notarius* in Kampen. From Easter 1485 he also worked in this town as *secretarius*, at least until 1499.⁷ In later years he worked as a teacher at the Latin schools in Amsterdam and Alkmaar, where he died around 1507.

⁵ Bakker 1988: 106, who refers to the Municipal Archives of Groningen, Stadsarchief, Rood voor de Reductie 877, 1092², 118. Liber's words *publice [...] utilitatis [...] negotia* (see the first quotation from the *Compendium*) also seem to refer to this.

⁶ Agricola, ep. 29.

⁷ Don 1963-6, vol.II, lists as the most recent documents that mention Liber (as *notarius*) nr. 69 of the inventory of St. Nicholas's or Boven Church (d.d. May 6th, 1492) and nr. 69 of the Archieven van Kerken en Kloosters (also d.d. May 6th, 1492; Don II, R.750). According to Santing (1988: 177), however, there are six charters and one document in the Municipal Archives of Kampen drawn up by Liber in the years 1482, 1485, 1487 (2), 1490, 1492 and 1499. I have not yet verified this.

Only a few books came from Liber's hand, and they all seem to be intended for use in school. Besides the *Compendium*, he wrote a Latin grammar called *Aurora grammaticae*.⁸ It was printed without any mention of an author or date; Crecelius was the first to point out that Liber was its author.⁹ He also wrote a commentary on Prudentius's hymn *Inventor rutili*.¹⁰ Finally, he prepared an edition of Titus Livius de Frulovisiis's *De orthographia*.¹¹ From this it is clear that Liber played an important part in stimulating the development of and increasing the importance attached to the new humanist ideas at the Latin schools in the Low Countries. He devoted himself first and foremost to the renovation of Latin style and grammar. Apart from his school books, all that Liber has left us is four poems. Already known were his *carmen panegyricum* (ten disticha) on Wessel Gansfort's return from Italy (c. 1475), an epigram *in laudem auctoris* in his edition of the *De orthographia* (two disticha), and an *In laudem inclite Colonorum urbis epigramma* (ten disticha), which was printed for the first time in 1483. Recently Santing has found a fourth poem by Liber in a Munich manuscript;¹² it is entitled *In osores studiorum humanitatis*, a favourite theme among early northern humanists (see e.g. the letters of Langius and Liber), and consists of thirteen disticha.¹³ Perhaps something more of Liber's work remains to be discovered, but it will surely not be much. Liber's merits lie in his school activities; literary composition was not his forte. For this reason he *claruit in breui*, as Butzbachius puts it.¹⁴

The *Compendium* was printed only once. From the *epistola dedicatoria*, we know that Liber composed it in Cologne, and it has been established that the book was printed by Johan Koelhoff the elder in his letter type four.¹⁵ The year of publication is unknown, but on December 9th, 1476, Dietrich Brandes from Lübeck obtained the power of attorney to collect the claims of Koelhoff on Antonius Liber from Groningen.¹⁶ However, Koelhoff also printed Liber's *Aurora grammaticae* and the *De orthographia* edition, which unfortunately are also undated. Voulliéme dates them

⁸ Proctor 1044.

⁹ Crecelius 1879: 140.

¹⁰ Printed in Deventer by Richard Pafraet in 1493 = Hain 10073.

¹¹ Proctor 1045.

¹² Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm. 528, f.200^v.

¹³ Schoonbeeg 1993: 340 (*carmen X*).

¹⁴ *Auctarium de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, f.77 = Krafft/Crecelius 1870: 59.

¹⁵ Proctor 1036.

¹⁶ Corsten 1955: 61.

around 1479, whereas he gives c. 1475 as the date of the *Compendium*. Proctor puts the *Compendium* in the year 1477, and the other two in the year 1479. There seems, therefore, to be some agreement on dating the *Compendium* before the other two books. If Liber indeed composed this book first, we can surely date it before December 9th, 1476.

We have more certainty about Liber's reason for composing his *Compendium*. He explicitly states it in his dedicatory letter to Arnold von Bevelen from Hildesheim, headmaster of St. Martin's School in Groningen, and one of the Aduard *sodales*. It was at his request that Liber collected the letters in Cologne:

Optauisti, dum abste discederem, Arnolde fidissime, ut Colonie inter tot tantasque bibliothecas constitutus aliquot familiarium epistolarum tibi colligerem, quibus et uisis et perlectis scholares tui spretis barbarorum inscitiis tersum forte nitidumque scribendi stilum amplecterentur. [*Comp.* f. a2^r]

The book was intended to provide pupils with examples of how to write Latin in a classical style on all kinds of topics. In this way they could improve *in arte dicendi scribendique stilo*. It was not meant to be a letter book, in the sense that it was to give instructions on how to compose a letter on a specific topic to a certain person (like, for example, the *Epistolarum formulae* of Carolus Viruli). It contains not a single piece of theory on how to write a letter on a particular topic, or to a particular person. On the contrary, when copying letters from his source Liber removed any theoretical material. The 'anonymous' letters are clear evidence to this (see p. 148 ff.). Liber actually hoped that the *Compendium* would benefit not only the pupils in Groningen, but everyone with an eye for the new ideas that had spread from Italy:

... sperans ipsum <sc. compendium> non modo tibi uni tuisque discipulis solum, sed plerisque etiam aliis pro sua ubertate profuturum. Planum est enim, quod non omnes, qui has optimas ad artes anhelant, tot tantorumque autorum completa epistolarum uolumina habere possunt. [*ibidem*]

Of course, the idea of using letters for this purpose was by no means a new one; letters had been used for didactic purposes for a long time. The only thing that changed with the humanists was their choice of a different style and different models of style: the classical authors, especially Cicero. Consequently, in the humanist letter collections letters of esteemed classical and contemporary authors were most frequently used as models. There are innumerable manuscripts from the humanist age that contain a mixed bag of letters by classical and especially by humanist authors,

clearly copied for their value as models. On the other hand, a teacher could also choose to write model letters himself, and thus be able to adapt them more exactly to his own purposes. Of the humanists, Gasparinus Barzizius was the first to edit model letters in a classical style (his *epistolae ad exercitationem accommodatae*, written around 1420). These were fictitious letters to be used by the pupils of his private school in Padova,¹⁷ and they gained an immense popularity in Italy and elsewhere. Their *editio princeps* of 1470 was the first book ever printed in Paris, and another fourteen editions came off the press before 1501 (GW 3675-3689). North of the Alps, Carolus Viruli (Menneken; Menniken, Maneken) chose the same method. He wrote his *Epistolarum formulae* for the pupils who studied in Louvain at the *paedagogium Lili*, of which he was the rector. They were first printed in 1476,¹⁸ and also became very popular as a schoolbook.¹⁹

The use of authentic classical letters for didactic purposes was not confined to the earliest stages of humanism. Henricus Bebelius, in his *Commentaria epistolarum conficiendarum* (1499-1500), advocated the same method that Liber applied: letters should not be taught in a theoretical way by a list of rules; the best way to learn how to write them is by reading *exempla* from Cicero and other prestigious authors. Exactly the same idea was expressed by the university of Cologne in 1525, when some changes were made in the curriculum of the faculty of Arts. On Latin style, the *acta* say: *Quantum ad Latini sermonis imitationem attinet, epistolae eis exponantur aut Ciceronis aut Philelphi aut alterius probati nominis*.²⁰ Even a hundred years later, Marcus Antonius Muretus still considered the genre to be eminently suitable for teaching Latin. In his *Oratio habita Romae prid. Non. Novembr. MDLXXXII, cum interpretari inciperet epistolas Ciceronis ad Atticum*, he writes:

Ego quidem, quoniam ad pure et emendate loquendum [...] nullius omnino libri lectionem utiliore, quam epistolarum ad Atticum iudico, quoniam eas Latinae linguae studiosis pervolutandas, manibus atque oculis conterendas, ad verbum, si fieri possit, ediscendas censeo ...²¹

¹⁷ Mercer 1979: 109. Fantazzi does not mention this intended use in his recent article on Barzizius's letters (Ch. Fantazzi, 'The *Epistolae Ad Exeritationem Accommodatae* of Gasparino Barzizza'; in: *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Torontonensis*, ed. A. Dalzell, Ch. Fantazzi and R.J. Schoeck (Binghamton 1991), pp. 139-146).

¹⁸ Perhaps they were printed as early as 1474: H. De Vocht, *History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense, 1517-1550* (Louvain 1951-1955), I, p. 89.

¹⁹ They were printed more than fifty times in the years 1476-1520 (Gerlo 1971:110).

²⁰ No. 31. I, as quoted by Nauert (1991: 73).

²¹ Kappius 1825: 470-471 = oratio II, XIX.

Liber's *Compendium* contains letters written by Cicero, Jerome, Symmachus, Bernardus Claravallensis, Beccadellius, Seneca, Guinifortus and Gasparinus Barzizius, Aeneas Sylvius, Philelphus, Sidonius, Aquinas and A Kempis, Poggius, Leonardus Brunus, Phalaris, and Salutatatus.²² At the end of his book Liber added fourteen letters written by himself and his friends Agricola and Langius, evidently with the intention to claim a place in the classical tradition for himself and his *sodales* from Aduard. By the number of folios that each author occupies, it appears that Liber considered the letters of Cicero, Beccadellius, Guinifortus Barzizius, Aeneas Sylvius and Salutatatus most valuable. In the list of authors, Pliny is a conspicuous absentee. Though Pliny's letters were less popular than Cicero's, he was influential, and above all one of the favourite authors of Agricola, who was the 'leader' of the Aduard circle, and a friend of Liber's. The absence of Petrarch's letters is less remarkable, and confirms that they were not very influential;²³ his Latinitas, which had been very much exposed to medieval influences, could well be judged unfit for pupils who were intended to learn classical Latin. As far as contents are concerned, the letters of Seneca, Jerome, Bernardus and Aquinas are remarkable. Whereas most of the letters treat insignificant topics, these letters deal exclusively with ethics and matters of faith; clearly, they have been included primarily because of their contents.

The order in which the letters are arranged seems to be random. The authors do not form a chronological or alphabetical sequence. Sometimes, the reason that Liber arranged the letters of a single author in a particular way is obvious; for example, the letters of Symmachus, Seneca, and Sidonius have the traditional order that is still preserved in modern editions. Philelphus's epistles were inserted chronologically, as in the printed edition of 1473, which was Liber's source; Langius's and Agricola's letters were ordered on the same principle, but it is significant that Liber did not apply this method to his own letters. The letters of Beccadellius are arranged according to addressee. In the case of most authors, however, there seems to be no clear-cut principle of arrangement. Sometimes a tendency can be detected to group together letters on a single theme, but this concerns only a very few cases. Therefore, I think Liber looked in 'his' library in Cologne for letter manuscripts or editions, and inserted the letters into his book in the order in which he encountered them, adding at the end the letters of his two friends and his own.

²² For a detailed list of the letters inserted by Liber, see Appendix I.

²³ Clough 1976: 40-41.

It is very difficult to trace Liber's sources. So far, I have tracked down only two, both incunabula (see p. 150). However, Liber must also have used manuscripts, since not all of the letters that he selected had yet been printed by 1476. There are still innumerable manuscripts with letters of the *Compendium* authors, and many more are probably lost. Kristeller's *Iter Italicum* offers manuscripts with model letters, model phrases, model *exordia*, model salutations, groups of letters that concern one topic, groups of letters written by one author, groups of letters to one addressee, manuals on the art of letter writing, and official correspondence.²⁴ Of the authors in Liber's book, Symmachus, Guinifortus Barzizius, Sidonius, Aquinas, and A Kempis are rarely found in such manuscripts; favourites are Cicero, Gasparinus, Aeneas Sylvius, Poggius, and Phalaris. I have not been able to find any manuscripts that contain letters of all the specifically humanist authors in Liber's book, let alone all authors of all types. The popularity of the *Compendium* seems to have been very limited. First, it was only printed once.²⁵ Moreover, I have not been able to track down anyone mentioning Liber's book, except for Johannes Butzbachius, who merely lists it as one of Liber's works in his *Auctarium de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* on f.77: *Epistolarum ad Arnoldum...*²⁶

Five of the six letters by Langius that we find at the end of the *Compendium* were addressed to Liber, and one of Liber's replies has also been added. They were written in February and March of 1469, when Langius was in Aduard,²⁷ and Liber in Groningen. This correspondence clearly expresses the humanist disposition of both men. They encourage each other in their efforts to write Latin in a classical way, to persist in this, and not to be discouraged by the fate that put them *non inter Musarum choros, sed inter Bachi orgia*.²⁸ They discuss correct Latin, and ask for certain humanist books to be sent. They complain about those who are critical of the new humanist ideas. Besides this correspondence,

²⁴ See, for example, Bertalot 1975: I, 1-82. There are many manuscripts of this kind.

²⁵ I have traced only five copies of this edition (which, of course, cannot be considered evidence of its impopularity) in London (BMC I,223 = IB.3507), Paris (BN, inc. L-162), Gießen (Univ. Lib., Ink. D 18 (1)), Uppsala (Univ. Lib. = Sallander 1965: nr. 2297), and New York (NY Society Lib. = Goff 1964: Add. L-195a). I have found references to two more copies (in Düsseldorf and in a Polish library), which I have not yet checked.

²⁶ Krafft/Crecelius 1870: 59. Though Agricola and Langius are mentioned by Trithemius, Liber is not.

²⁷ He writes to Liber *ex medio colloquencium*. [Comp. f. M4^r]

²⁸ 'Among drunks, not among the Muses'; Langius in his letter d.d. 24-2-1469. [Comp. f. M3^v]

there is a letter by Langius to his compatriot Lubbert Zedeler, in which he advises him to turn to humanist literature, which will greatly profit him.²⁹ Finally, there are a few short letters by Liber to his wife, and to some friends. These do not involve humanist matters, but deal with daily business like the recommendation of a friend, or the loan of some money and books.

The humanist zeal that clearly emerges from Liber's and Langius's letters was still quite rare in the Low Countries of those days, especially in the north. Even in the south, where contacts with Italian culture were more frequent, the new literary ideas from Italy were received with hostility. The letters of Johannes de Veris (Van den Veren) clearly prove this. He worked as a teacher in Middelburg (?), Oudenburg, and Bergen op Zoom in the 1460's. From his letters, he, too, appears as a strong advocate of the humanist cause, but his efforts to reform the school curriculum in a humanist direction were thwarted. He was not able to find anyone like-minded who was influential enough to help him carry through his reforms. Despite his efforts, everything remained the same.³⁰ In Groningen the situation was evidently different, since it was the headmaster of the city school himself, Von Hildesheim, who asked Liber to compose his book. He explicitly intended it to be used in his school, and there seems to be no reason to assume that this plan was not carried out. Von Hildesheim and Liber would have had the support of a number of *sodales* from Aduard who had considerable influence in the city of Groningen (like Agricola, Johannes Canter, and Wilhelmus Frederici).

The letters of De Veris also show that practice and theory are two different things. Even though he adhered to the new stylistic ideal, he had not mastered it, and many traces of medieval Latin can be found in his letters. In this respect, Liber and Langius outshine him completely. Even though some examples of non-classical Latin can be pointed out (especially in Liber's letters), both men have fully mastered classical Latin. Like that of most humanists from the north, their style is not marked by the apparent ease and naturalness that characterizes the Latin of many Italian humanists (like Poggius and Philephus). It is very polished, and the sentences can at times be rather complicated. A comparison of the way in which De Veris, Liber, and Antonius Beccadellius

²⁹ For Zedeler, see Schoonbeeg 1993: 359. However, he is not the *Osnaburgius iuuenum pedagogus* mentioned by Langius, which Schoonbeeg suggests (ibidem: 360).

³⁰ Meersseman 1970: 122-126.

deal with the topic of *taciturnitas* illustrates the differences in stylistic skill between Liber and Beccadellius on the one hand, and De Veris on the other. One of De Veris's letters begins thus:³¹

Stupeo quam maxime nec tui sat dimirari queo, cur nequidem aliquantillam saltem minusculamve mihi transmittis scedam una cum aliis tuis quas vitrico misisti litteris, siquidem a me dum recesseras [recesseras? AHL] Lovanium profecturus firma sponderas fide id non siturum te, quin interdum tuis me missivis exhilarares.

The word *sc(h)ida* (De Veris's *sceda*) means 'the smallest piece of paper'.³² De Veris probably read it in the *Ad Familiares*, where Cicero uses it in exactly the same context: *...puto te iam suppedere, quem haec tertia iam epistula ante oppressit quam tu schidam aut litteram...*³³ De Veris uses it pleonastically, because a *schida* is already *aliquantilla* and *minuscule*. Besides this, the expression *nequidem ... saltem* is also pleonastic: a classical author would have written *ne ... quidem* or *ne ... saltem*, but would not have used a combination of the two. Furthermore, *ne quidem* is rarely not separated, and *missiva* is not a classical word. When we now compare De Veris's phrase with Beccadellius's and Liber's treatment of this topic, we see that they have handled it in a way that reveals their versatility:

Nullas a te litteras accepi, postquam a te digressus sum. Immo etiam ad te litteras dedi plenis epistolis, quibus rogavi te, ut saltem linea mihi responderes. Nihilominus siles. Quid in causa sit, tute dixeris.³⁴

Solebas interdum litteras ad me dare et me de tua uoletudine certiore reddere. Quod tanto mihi gratius fuit, quanto frequentius contingebat. Nunc uero te ab hoc instituto alienatum plane uideo et uere meum preter demeritum. Cuius mihi rei causam quam primum obsignari cupio.³⁵

From Langius's and Liber's letters it appears that both were familiar with a great number of classical and humanist writings. One Italian humanist in particular is praised by Langius for his achievements in advocating classical Latinitas. On February 27th of 1469, he writes to Liber:

³¹ Meersseman 1970: 152 (letter XVII).

³² *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. *schida*.

³³ 15,16,1.

³⁴ Beccadellius, letter to Andrea Palazzo, Pavia 1429 (= Resta 1954: nr. 409); *Comp.* f. d1^r.

³⁵ Liber, letter to Johannes de Saxis (not dated); *Comp.* f. M9^v. Admittedly, (*certiorem*) *reddere*, *demeritum* and *obsignari* are not classical in the meaning here intended.

In eum enim locum usque, quo Kalendarum supputacio explanatur, Elegantiolas nostras egoipse transcripsi. [...] Capiemus, mihi crede, ex re ea paucula litterarum dulces fructus ibitque mihi cartula hec mea irremota comes. [*Comp.* f. M4^r]

Langius is referring to Augustinus Datus's *Elegantiolae*. This booklet was the school book *par excellence* in the second half of the fifteenth century, and was printed more than a hundred times in the period 1470-1501, under several titles.³⁶ It gives many examples of classical Latin idiom from a number of classical authors, especially Cicero, Terence, and Aulus Gellius. From his letter it appears that Langius did not know the author of the booklet; he suspected that it had been written by a pupil of Valla. In another letter to Liber, Langius replies to the fact that somebody had accused him of writing non-classical Latin in his letter to Liber.³⁷ He then lists expressions from Datus to prove that his own Latin is correct by classical standards, and fulminates violently against his critic. Though we have no writings by Langius from before February 1469, it seems that his Latin was to some extent (re)formed by Datus's remarks. However, there are many instances in which Langius totally ignores Datus's instructions. Most strikingly, this is the case with one of Datus's essential subjects, i.e. word order. Whereas the Sienese humanist elaborately indicates that in a sentence where the subject is expressed, it should be preceded by the object, Langius hardly ever does so. It seems to me that he had already reached an age at which he was no longer in a position to change such essentials of style. In this respect, the same can be said for Antonius Liber. Though he himself does not mention Datus in his letters, Langius's letters tell us that he, too, thought highly of him. Moreover, the 'anonymous' letters (to which we shall turn shortly) prove that he used a printed edition of the *Elegantiolae* during his stay in Cologne. Though they did not follow Datus's instructions slavishly or unconditionally, both northern humanists had great respect for his ability, and their style was concretely influenced by his booklet.

Two sections in the *Compendium* are of special interest. The first contains nine letters which Liber evidently thought to have been written by Thomas Aquinas (ff. i3^v-i5^r). Only very few letters of this famous

³⁶ *De variis loquendi figuris sive de modo dictandi; Regulae elegantiarum; Libellus aureus in eloquentia; Super Tullianis elegantis et verbis exoticis libellus; De dictamine; Elegantiae minores*. See GW VII: 289.

³⁷ Langius's letter d.d. 21-3-1469. [*Comp.* ff. M5^r-M6^f]

philosopher can be found in manuscripts today. Best known, and most often copied, is his *epistola de modo studendi*, which is also the first letter offered by Liber in this paragraph. Its authenticity is not undisputed, though in Liber's times this was not an issue.³⁸ Comparing the text as inserted in the *Compendium* with the one that Mandonnet edited, and to three versions of it contained in manuscripts in the *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek* in Munich, I found numerous differences.³⁹ The nature of the changes in the text in Liber's book leads me to suspect that they were made by a humanist. Its style matches that of humanist correspondence, and does not have any resemblance to Aquinas's style. The same goes for the contents, which one would suppose to have been written down by a Thomas a Kempis rather than by the Italian philosopher.⁴⁰ The next six letters in this section were actually written by A Kempis, though in a completely different form. They derive from his *Epistula incitativa ad spiritualem profectum*;⁴¹ this long letter has been divided into six short ones, each of which has been given a thematic heading (*De patientia acquirenda*, *De zelo correctionis erga alium*, *De misericordia libenter proximo impendenda*, etc.). The contents have been rephrased so as to address a friend; valedictions have been added, and the first part of the letter as offered by Pohl has been left out. All these modifications, too, point to a humanist censor.

So far I have not been able to establish the identity of this censor; perhaps it was Liber himself who made the changes. Thanks to Harth's critical edition of Poggius's letters, we can see that even in his case, where typically humanist letters which needed no changes in style were involved, the text was considerably modified before being inserted in the *Compendium* (ff. i5^v-i8^v). There are many major alterations in Liber's text that cannot be found in the manuscripts used by Harth. In most cases we find simplifications of the Latin, or the removal of topical references that would only puzzle a reader unfamiliar with the circumstances to which Poggius refers.⁴² On the other hand, the two instances

³⁸ Grabmann 1931²: 323-324.

³⁹ Mandonnet 1927: IV, 535. The Munich MSS are clm. 5594, f. 234^{r-v}; clm. 18637, f. 141^v; clm. 14125, f. 197^r.

⁴⁰ Herding already noted this, reviewing the contents of codex C 687 of the university library in Uppsala, in which this letter also occurs. See Herding/Mertens 1990: I, 71.

⁴¹ Pohl 1918: IV, 447-461.

⁴² A procedure that humanists would apply to their own *epistolae familiares* when editing them, and which Pasquali (1962²: 457) described as 'trasportar le <lettere> dal tempo all' eternità'.

in which I have traced Liber's source show that he altered almost nothing in the text that he copied. However, these were printed sources, whereas in the case of Aquinas, A Kempis, and Poggius manuscript sources must have been used. Even in our days, the authority of a printed text is often valued more highly than that of a written one.

I have not yet been able to track down the author of the last two letters in this section. That it was not Aquinas seems certain. Their form, contents, and style resemble that of the previous letters. They do seem to form a pair. At least twice, both have been added to a printed edition of Antonius Haneron's *De breuibis epistolis edendis*. In the 1475 (?) edition of this booklet they can be found on folios 23^v-24^v. There, Aquinas is mentioned as the author of these letters, but his name has been erased (f. 23^v). The letters can also be found in an incunabulum that contains Datus's *Elegantiolae*, a *Rhetorica minor* ascribed to Datus, and Haneron's letter treatise.⁴³ Here Aquinas is not named as the author. Instead, the letters are announced as *epistole due peramene ad discipulum de correctione per magistrum sibi illata conquerentem*. It is tempting to connect Haneron with the authorship of these two letters.

The second notable section contains twelve letters *ex diuersis hinc inde autoribus summa cum diligentia collecte* (ff. L7^v-M2^v). Liber mentions no author(s) for these. The last two are Philelphus's: Liber took them from the 1473 edition of his letters, which he also used for the other letters that he inserted in his book under Philelphus's name. The remaining ten letters belong together, and originate from a short manual offering some theory for and examples of the *epistola petitoria* and *consolatoria*. This manual begins with five precepts for writing a letter of petition. The first two letters in this section of the *Compendium* then illustrate these. The treatise continues with advice on how to request something for ourselves, and for the benefit of the addressee himself. The next five letters from Liber's book then serve as examples of this. Finally, the letter of consolation is dealt with. Another five letters are given to exemplify this, of which Liber has inserted three in his book. The contents of all the letters are very traditional,⁴⁴ and the theoretical parts of the manual (which Liber omitted) are very short and simple.

⁴³ Printed in 1486 by Matthias van der Goes in Antwerp = GW 8077. The letters are on ff. h5^{r-v}.

⁴⁴ For example, Cicero's *Fam.* 5,16 is the main source for the *loci consolationis*.

This manual can be found in a number of manuscripts, mostly without the author being mentioned, and in some incunabula.⁴⁵ For this reason it has been attributed to three different humanists. First, Frank Baron considers it the work of Petrus Luder, chiefly because it occurs frequently in manuscripts that also contain authentic writings of this early German humanist.⁴⁶ Bertalot, too, seems to have thought of Luder as its author.⁴⁷ Perhaps he did so because of an announcement of one of Luder's lectures, which dealt with epistolography (and was edited by Bertalot).⁴⁸ Luder writes in this *intimatio*: *Itaque si qui regulas rhetoricales quadraginta, sine quibus nec aliquis rite partes in oratione locare poterit, item canones, quibus epistole formande sunt, cum adiunctis epistolis exemplaribus cum optima declaratione conscribere velint, veniant cras hora septima ...* This description could very well refer to the manual. Moreover, the library in Stuttgart possesses a manuscript with *Regule rhetoricales Petri Luder de Kislau oratoris*.⁴⁹ However, only the first folio contains something written by Luder, viz. an introduction to writings of his Italian teachers (*meis preceptoribus*). Then follows part of Datus's *Elegantiolae*,⁵⁰ and the manual on letter writing.

This Augustinus Datus is the second author to whom the manual has been ascribed. In eleven incunabula (GW 8123-8133), his *Elegantiolae* are followed by two short treatises, entitled *Praeceptorum summula* and *Modus orandi*. He is named as the author of both. The second one is our manual on letter writing, and the contents are identical to that in the manuscripts. However, no manuscripts attribute these works to Datus, and they are not included in his *Opera omnia* edition of 1502.

⁴⁵ I know of the following codices, some of which are also mentioned by Baron (1985): Stuttgart, Württ. Landesbibl., cod. HB XII 3, ff. 27^r, 33^r, 39^v and 40^r; ibidem, cod. HB XII 4, ff. 95^r-105^r; ibidem, cod. poet. et phil. 2° 31, ff. 23^r-34^v; ibidem, cod. poet. et phil. 4° 13, ff. 156^v-165^r. Erlangen, Univ. Lib., cod. 639, ff. 60^r-67^v; ibidem, cod. 659, ff. 1^r-18^r. Vatican, cod. Pal.Lat. 607, ff. 173^r-176^v. Prague, Nat. Lib., cod. XXIII F 106, ff. 95^v-100^v; ibidem, cod. I D 12, ff. 22^r-25^r. Prague, Metrop. Kap. Lib., cod. M 109, ff. 103^r-110^r; ibidem, cod. M 37, f. 421^v. Munich, BSB, clm. 4393, ff. 113^v-119^r. Vienna, ÖNB, cod. Pal. 3244, ff. 171^r-181^v. The incunabula GW 8123-8133 (Datus's *Elegantiolae*).

⁴⁶ Baron 1966: 78, 124 and 126; Baron 1985: 957; Baron 1993: 89.

⁴⁷ *Die Handschriften der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart*, vol. 2.4.2 (Wiesbaden 1969), p. 55.

⁴⁸ Bertalot 1975: I, 241.

⁴⁹ Cod. poet. et phil. 4° 13, ff. 145 sqq.

⁵⁰ On ff. 145^r-156^r; inc. *Plerumque enim qui oratorie artis floribus* (= GW 8037, f.1^v); expl. *consul Rome se consulem gerit imperatorem* (!) (= GW 8037, f. 19^r). The catalogue does not mention Datus.

The *Gesamtkatalog* points to the real author of this manual: it is Gasparinus Barzizius. The manual is very frequently found in the company of other authentic writings of Barzizius. Furthermore, he is without doubt the author of the *Praeceptorum summula*. In the incunabula, this work consists of thirteen rules that a good *oratio* should follow. In manuscripts, these guidelines are more numerous and form part of Barzizius's *Summa praeceptorum ad eandem partem compositionis pertinentium quae ad ordinem et collocationem uerborum specta(n)t* or *Praecepta Gasparini*,⁵¹ which in its turn is an appendix to his *De compositione*.⁵² Further evidence for Barzizius's authorship of the manual is found in cod. 639 of the university library in Erlangen, on f. 60^r, where he is explicitly named as the author: *Incipit foeliciter modus orandi epistolandique Casparini de pergamo. Peticionis loci sunt quatuor ...* Finally, these model letters fit in perfectly with the other writings of Gasparinus. He wrote not only the famous *Epistolae ad exercitationem accommodatae*, but also *exempla exordiorum*.

Liber used the *editio princeps* of Datus's book as his source for these letters by Barzizius. I have collated Liber's text with four manuscripts: in each case the differences are numerous, and sometimes substantial. On the other hand, Liber's text is nearly identical with that printed by Zell around 1470. They differ in only eighteen instances. Five of these concern the heading, which Liber had to change, since he left out the three theoretical parts. Five instances are obvious misprints, and four times Zell's edition presents an incorrect reading, which Liber very likely corrected. Only four significant differences, therefore, remain, all of which occur in the final two letters. On the other hand, in nine cases Zell's and Liber's texts agree in error, and in 26 instances they agree against all the manuscripts. We can, therefore, conclude that Liber used two incunabula (Philelphus and Datus) as his sources for this section.

In order to substantiate my findings, and because these letters have never been published in a modern edition, I add here the text of the

⁵¹ See, for example, these codices: London, BL, Harley Mss. 2594 (ff. 10^v-13^v) and 3871 (ff. 180^v-183^v); Erlangen, Univ. Lib., cod. 659 (ff. 33^v-38^v); Munich, BSB, clm. 4393 (ff. 80-81); Vienna, ÖNB, cod. Pal. 3244 (ff. 58^v-60^r; cf. f. 171^r, where the anonymous letters are called *Summa preceptorum*). Likewise in Albertus de Eyb's *Margarita poetica* (GW 9530: ff. 20^v-56^r); he quotes Barzizius more than any other Italian humanist.

⁵² Sonkowsky 1964: 260 and 262-263. However, he does mention the fact that it can be found in different versions in the manuscripts, which might suggest that Barzizius was not the (sole) author.

anonymous letters as they are found in the *Compendium*. In the *apparatus criticus*, I have listed all variants from the manuscripts and incunabula I consulted that I thought to be of any significance. I have left out only minor differences. I do not claim to present a critical edition, since I have not been able to trace (let alone consult) all the manuscripts containing these letters.⁵³

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⁵³ I am very grateful to the staff of the libraries in Prague, London, Stuttgart, and Munich for kindly offering me all the help I needed when consulting their manuscripts.

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APPENDIX I:
THE LETTERS IN THE *COMPENDIUM*

- Cicero: *Ad Familiares* (ed. Shackleton Bailey 1988) epp. 2,4; 2,2; 2,3; 2,19; 3,1; 3,2; 2,11; 2,14; 2,13; 4,5; 4,6; 2,7; 2,9; 5,14; 2,1; 6,15; 6,16; 6,17; 13,47; 1,6; 1,3; 1,9; 1,10; 10,2; 7,27; 4,10; 4,12; 4,15; 4,9.
- Hieronymus: (ed. Labourt 1949) epp. XVII; XLVII; IV; V; VI; CI.
- Symmachus: (ed. Callu 1972-1982; ed. Seeck 1883) epp. 1,6; 1,9; 1,10; 1,11; 1,14; 1,16; 1,25; 1,31; 1,36; 1,41; 1,42; 1,43; 1,53; 1,56; 1,63; 1,73; 1,80; 1,82; 1,84; 2,17; 3,26; 3,40; 4,23; 4,44; 4,73; 5,13; 5,21; 5,30; 5,49; 5,51; 5,77; 7,60; 7,84; 8,4.
- Bernardus: (ed. Leclercq/Rochais 1974) epp. 24; 32; 9; 27; 28; 96; 103; 106; 109; 185.
- Beccadellius: (Resta 1954) nrs. 625; 592; 595; 616; 629; 623; 602; 627; 620; 405; 404; 409; 175; 187; 151; 154; 155; 188; 168; 181; 147; 198; 178; 131; 158; 176; 148; 109; 114.
- Seneca: (ed. Reynolds 1965) epp. 1,1; 1,2; 1,3; 1,4; 1,5; 1,6; 1,7; 1,8; 1,9.
- Gu. Barzizius: Inc. *Litteris tuis lectis, que petebas Anthonio*
Inc. *Circumspexi, reuerende pater, neque in paucis*
Inc. *Habe tibi gracias, uir egregie, pro tua*
Furietti, Gasparini Barzizii [...] et Guiniforti [...] opera,
1723: 81 (d.d. 14-8-1431)
Inc. *Huius quod pro mea in te obseruantia*
Inc. *De uestro in me amore atque animo liberali*
Furietti 1723: 119 (d.d. 25-4-1438)
Inc. *Grate adeo fuerunt nobis littere tue* (by Christophorus Barzizius to Guinifortus)
Inc. *Si cum maximis te implicitum curis scio*
Inc. *Immensas tue clementie gracias debeo princeps*
Inc. *Incredibile tui me desiderium tenet quod nisi*
Inc. *Tam gratus mihi aduentus fuit modestissimi uiri*
Inc. *Que ab omnibus istinc ad nos proficiscentibus*
Inc. *Diu tacui serenissime rex nil ad te scribens*
Inc. *Quod in tuorum numero me habeas magnanime*
Inc. *Cognito serenissime regine magnanimi principis*
Inc. *Si tibi uerbis acceptior quam re uel*
Inc. *Eo te in loco esse uir splendide ubi*
Inc. *Nuper ad te scripsi uir splendidissime*
Sabbadini, *Epistolario di Guarino Veronese*, 1919: II,317 (d.d. 7-10-1437)
Inc. *Cum preter consuetudinem meam domo egressus*
Inc. *Quantum et sollertia et gratia tantum*
Inc. *Tot me honestissime rationes Petro sacerdoti*
Inc. *Nuper in hunc usque in diem hortatus fui*

- Inc. *Que a me expectabas missurus iam dudum ad te fui*
 Inc. *Paulus Barzizius necessarius meus sue in Mantuanam*
 Inc. *Dupliciter me affecerunt littere tue*
- Ga. Barzizius: (ed. Furietti 1723) p.220, ep.I; 220,II; 221,I; 222,II; 245,I; 246,II; 222,I; 223,II; 223,I; 224,II; 224,I; 225,II; 226,I; 226,II; 227,I; 228,II; 228,I; 229,II; 230,I; 231,II; 325,I; 325,II; 320,I; 320,II; 290,I; 291,II.
- Aeneas Sylvius: The first seventeen letters are in the edition of Wolkan 1909-1918: vol. 1,1: nr. 135; vol. 2: nr. 10; vol. 1,1: nrs. 38, 87, 52, 68, 85, 164, 162, 3, 113, 145, 54, 2; vol. 2: nr. 25; vol. 1,1: nrs. 37, 79.
 Ten of the remaining twelve letters are in the *Opera omnia* edition of Basle 1551: nrs. 395, 231, 223, 227, 251, 364, 274, 255, 292, 342.
 After ep. 395 of the Basle edition, Liber inserted two letters that I have not been able to trace:
 Inc. *Fredericus Dei gracia Romanorum Imperator*
 Inc. *Periocunde mihi fuerunt littere tue, quibus cepi*
- Philelphus: (ed. Venetië 1502) epp. I,4; I,5; I,7; I,8; I,11; I,13; I,14; I,15; I,20; I,24; I,25; I,27; I,28; I,32; I,33; I,34; I,37; I,40; I,41; I,42; I,44; I,45; I,46; I,47; I,50; II,20; II,23; II,28; II,30; II,32.
- Sidonius: (ed. Loyen 1970) epp. 1,1; 1,8; 1,10; 2,3; 2,7; 2,8; 2,10; 2,14; 3,10; 3,14; 4,8; 4,16; 4,19; 5,1.
- Th. Aquinas: *De modo studendi*, ed. Mandonnet 1927: IV, 535.
- Th. a Kempis: *Epistula incitativa ad spiritualem profectum*, ed. Pohl 1918: IV, 457 (line 9)- 461 (line 10).
- ps.- Aquinas: Inc. *Amantissime fili, conquereris quod tibi intollerabile sit*
 Inc. *Causaris, carissime fili, ubilibet me tibi solito plus rigidiorum esse*
- Poggius: The first letter is not in Harth: Inc. *Accepi ex te litteras pro Cambio nostro*
 Then follow: (ed. Harth 1984-1987) vol. II: nrs. V,7; I,4; IV,13; VII,2; vol. III: nrs. VIII,22; IX,14; vol. II: nrs. V,5; III,3; II,5; IX,10; II,8.
- Brunus: The first letter is actually by Ga. Barzizius; Furietti 1723: 205-206; D. Mazzuconi, "Per una sistemazione dell' epistolario di Ga.B."; in: *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 20 (1977), 183-188, nr. 268.
 The third letter is Poggius's; ed. Harth, vol. I, app. I. ('versione abbreviata').
 The second, fourth and fifth letter are (ed. Luiso 1980) II,11; I,11; I,13 respectively.
- Phalaris: (ed. Hercher 1878) epp. 1; 70; 71; 21; 84; 2; 3; 6; 9; 11; 12; 13; 17; 18; 19; 20; 67; 118; 4; 5; 53; 112; 96; 85; 8; 26; 105; 28; 29; 30; 104; 32; 120; 38; 61; 98; 41; 42; 44; 45; 46; 47; 48; 49; 50; 51; 55; 74; 77; 95; 110.

- Salutatus: (ed. Novati 1891-1911) Vol. III, ep. XIII 3.
 Ga. Barzizius: *Modus epistolandi*: ten letters (see Appendix II).
 Philelphus: (ed. Venetië 1502) epp. I,22; I,23.
 Langius: (ed. Crecelius 1876: 5-12, with a number of errors; to be edited with a commentary in my forthcoming PhD thesis)
 Inc. *Haberm meo quidem iuditio quo te* (to Liber, Aduard 22-2- \langle 1469 \rangle)
 Inc. *Si tecum mihi super scriptionis elegantia* (to Liber, Aduard 24-2- \langle 1469 \rangle)
 Inc. *Iohannem XXII \langle I \rangle pont. max. quem sacer* (to Liber, Aduard 27-2- \langle 1469 \rangle)
 Inc. *Relegenti hanc mihi Elegantiolarum* (to Liber, Aduard 10-3- \langle 1469 \rangle)
 Inc. *Poteram ego quidem quod a me actenus* (to Liber, Aduard 21-3- \langle 1469 \rangle)
 Inc. *Est M.T. Ciceronis in VI de rep. sententia* (to Zedeler, Aduard 26-3-1469)
 Agricola: (Allen 1906) epp. 3 and 4; ed. Alardus 1539: II,178-179 and II,174-175 resp.
 Liber: (ed. Crecelius 1879: 145-150, with a number of errors; to be edited with a commentary in my forthcoming PhD thesis)
 Inc. *Accepi epistolas tuas Rodolphe suauissime* (to Langius, Groningen \langle 23-2-1469 \rangle)
 Inc. *Pergrate mihi fuerunt littere tue suauissima* (to Berta, Cologne s.d.)
 Inc. *Solebas interdum litteras ad me dare* (to Johannes de Saxis, s.l.; s.d.)
 Inc. *Moneo et item opto ut presenti nuncio* (to Jacobus Liber, Groningen s.d.)
 Inc. *Wilhelmo Westphalo qui nunc in curia* (to Johannes de Cervo, Groningen s.d.)
 Inc. *Adhuc multa sunt a me agenda mi Arnolde* (to Von Hildesheim, s.l.; s.d.)

APPENDIX II:

SEQUUNTUR NUNC DIVERSE EPISTOLE EX DIVERSIS HINCINDE AUTORIBUS
SUMMA CUM DILIGENTIA COLLECTE

Iohannes G. S D Petro suo.

Venit ad me uesperi familiarissimus mihi Iohannes, quicum mihi non modo familiaritas antequam necessitudinis, uerum etiam affinitas intercedit, rogauitque me, ut omni studio cura diligentiaque curarem, ne prefecturam Mutinensem amitteret, quam propemodum consecutus esset. Ego uero cum te apud senatum
5 autoritate plurimum ualere meminisses nullumque plus posse certe scirem, statui abs te petere, ut, si quid umquam gratum mihi te facturum existimes, hoc illud arbitreris. Rogo enim, ut Iohannem ab emulis suis obtrektoribusque defendas, qui prefecturam Mutinensem arripere temptant. Hoc mihi in maximorum beneficiorum cumulo collocabo; erit enim mihi maximo honori familiarem
10 meum opera mea hunc magistratum obtinuisse. Etenim raro magistratum expertus est profiteorque me tibi perpetuo obnoxium immortalis beneficio fore. Sed si quid etiam in me meritorum interdum contulisti, studui ea quidem tibi summo studio pro uiribus cumulate restituere. Vale.

M = BSB Monaci, clm. 4393, f. 113v

H3 = WLB Stutgardiae, cod. HB XII 3, f. 33r (*usque ad uersum 2* rogauitque me)

H4 = WLB Stutgardiae, cod. HB XII 4, f. 97v-98r

P1 = NK Praeae, cod. XXIII F 106, f. 95v

P2 = NK Praeae, cod. I D 12, f. 22v

Dz = GW 8123 = Datus, *Elegantiae*, Coloniae c. 1470, f. 37r-v

L = Liber, *Compendium*, Coloniae c. 1476, f. L7v

D = GW 8133 = Datus, *Elegantiae*, Spirae 1499, f. d5r

sal thema predictorum *M H4 Dz D*: Missiua *H3*: *om. P1 P2 1* mihi non modo] non modo mihi *H3 2* intercessit *H3 3* me *om. D* Mutinensem] basiliensem *P1 4* secutus *L Dz* (consecuturus? *P2*) *5* autoritate plurimum] plur- aut *P2 6* te facturum] fact- te *P2 7* illud *om. P1* enim *om. D* abtrektoribusque *L Dz D*: *supra o- scripsit a H4 8* Mutinensem] basiliensem *P1* Hoc enim mihi *P2 8-9* maximorum cumulo beneficiorum *M H4 P2*: maxi- numero bene- *P1 10* hunc magistratum] mag- hunc *P2* obtinuisse Etenim raro magistratum *om. D* raro magistratum] mag- raro *P1 11* es *L Dz D*: *supra* est scripsit eß *H4 12* etiam *om. P2* studui] statui *M P2*: *supra scripsit* studui *P2* tibi *om. P2 13* cumulata *M H4 P1 P2*: *supra -ta scripsit* te *H4 post* Vale *add. feliciter* et me extra sinum memorie elabi non sinas *P2*

- Non potui, dulcissime Mathia, efficere, ut nunc ad te non perscriberem, quanto
feruore, quanto studio, quanta denique iocunditate Iohannes tuus sacris legibus
operam hactenus dederit. Quod si in ea facultate uti perpulcre inceperat per-
geret, paucis post diebus summum legum apicem pertingeret. Quia uero hes-
5 terno uesper, quemadmodum pecuniis deficere incepisset, mihi retulit,
admodum uereor, ne studium suum deserere postponereque cogatur. Quod qui-
dem impedies, si ex redditibus tuis, quos hoc anno uberrimos suscepisti, sibi
sueque egestati subuenies. Fortassis frater tuus, qui (ut audio) quamprimum ex
Asia ad te uenit, (nam negotiationi fortuna plurimum arrisit) lucri sui, quod
10 inestimabile est consecutus, te faciet potissimum participem, si nepotis sui uir-
tutes quamplures ab omnibus predicari teque inopie sue uelle occurrere pre-
senserit. Quid inquam amabilius, quid melius aut quid optatius tibi posset
accidere quam filium litterarum peritissimum moribus eloquentia ac prudentia
15 magnopere peditum habere, qui domui tue nobisque familiaritatis et affinitatis
tibi uinculo coniunctus auxilio consilio honori et glorie esse poterit. Itaque hec
omnia tecum mente reuoluas pecuniasque quamprimum ad eum transmittas.
Hoc enim te scire uelim, nisi eum tanta egestate laborare uidissem atque eas
impensas, quas facies, tam necessarias et frugi futuras, nihil hoc tempore ad te
scripsissem. Quocienscumque enim aliquid percepi, quod honori ac fortunis
20 tuis potuit conducere ac detrahare, non potui supersidere quin redderem te cer-
tiores.

M, f. 114r; *H3*, f. 40r (*usque ad uersum 4* pertingeret); *H4*, f. 98r-v; *P1*, f. 95v-96v; *P2*, f. 22v; *Dz*, f. 37v-38r; *L*, f. L7v; *D*, f. d5r-v; Aliud exemplum.

sal thema aliud predictorum *M*: Aliud thema de locis petitionis *H4 Dz D*: sequitur alia
P1: Epistola in eodem genere petitionis *P2*: *om.* *H3* 1 dilectissime *P1* Mathia]
Iohannes *M H3 H4 P1*: *supra scripsit* Mathia *H4*: *om.* *P2* 1-2 quanto feruore *om.* *H3*
2 Iohannes] har...gus (?) *P2*: filius *D*: *om.* *Dz* tuus] in tuis *L Dz*: *supra scripsit* in tuis
H4 3 in ea] mea *H3 H4 Dz* perpulcre *om.* *H3* 3-4 pergeret] remaneret *H3* 4 paucos
post dies *H3* 5 in pecuniis *H4* mihi *om.* *P1* 6 suum *om.* *P2* 9 ueniet *H4 P1 P2*
10 inestimabile *M H4*: in existimabile *P1*: *supra inesti- scripsit* inexti- *P2* consecutus
est *P2* participem potissimum *M H4 P1 P2* 10-11 virtutes et scientias *M H4 P1 P2*
12 amabilius sit quid *P2* tert. quid *om.* *P2* possit *H4 P2* 15 tibi *om.* *P2* coniunctis
M P1 P2 16 mente fac reuoluas *M H4 P1 P2* permittas *M* 18 tam necessarias et *om.*
(*in margine necessarias scripsit*) *P2* 19 Quociens *P2* aliquid *om.* *P2* honori] honori
tuo *P2* 20 ac: simulque (*supra -que scripsit* et) *P2* Vale *add. M*: uale Vale (*alt. rubri-*
catum) *add. P1*: Vale et me ut consueuisti ama. Datum bononie Kalendas Ianuarias (*sic*)
add. P2

Aliud exemplum.

- Memini me et patrem tuum mirum in modum coluisse et clarissimo uiro summa amoris necessitudine coniunctum fuisse, quod uir tum ingenio clarus tum uero animi magnitudine prestantissimus esset. Preterea memini me abs te obseruantia quadam singulari complexum, ut nihil sit quod ego abs te petere dubitem, presertim cum, quicquid petiturus sim, id omne ad te unum pertineat. Ex quorundam enim communium amicorum sermonibus intellexi te disciplinam rei militaris, quam meo potissimum persuasu sequi ceperas, dereliquisse. Hec persuadere non quidem satis mihi poteram, nisi tue ad me quandoque accessissent littere, que sermones, quos acceperam, plene confirmarunt; ex quo non mediocrem molestiam suscepi. Te enim sperabam uirum rei militaris prestantissimum fore, quem, cum imperatorem exercitus uel legionis prefectum conspicerem, ego mirifice gloriarer, qui tibi huiusmodi capiendorum studiorum causa fuisset. Sperabam te et amicis commodissimum et patrie gloriosum et tibi utilissimum fore atque ita profecto fuisses. Subeunt enim studiorum militarium periti uiri et ciuitatum et principum potissimorum familiaritates, a quibus sepius opida et castella munitissima merentur; stipendiisque uberrimis ab illis conducuntur et (quod maximum est) immortalitatem glorie consequuntur et perpetua apud posteros nominis sui monimenta relinquunt. Si igitur cepta hec studia deserueris, nudum te omnium probatissimarum artium inuenies; neque enim mercature actibus studuisti neque litteris operam dedisti, sed militari tantum discipline primas etatis tue partes deuouisti rursusque sequentes annos quamplures in ipsa consumpsisti. Quare totum hoc omne tempus amissum inuenies et difficiliore iam erunt anni, quos facile bonis aliquibus committas. Secordie autem atque ignauie conciuies tui omnes te damnabunt, qui exercitationem armorum abs te iam diu susceptam nunc temere neglexeris. Itaque si quid apud me amicitie paterne, si quid necessitudinis fratris tui relinquitur, te rogo atque obsecro, ne me uanum tibi persuasorem fuisse patiaris, sed uel tui uel mei causa dimissa nunc aliquandiu militaria studia magnanimo recipias.

M, f. 114v-115r; *H4*, f. 99r-v; *P1*, f. 97r-98r; *P2*, f. 23r; *Dz*, f. 38v-39v; *L*, f. L7v-L8r; *D*, f. d6r

sal Sequitur exemplum tercii generis *M H4*: Exemplum tercii generis *P1 Dz D*: Epistola prima *P2 2* quod] qui *M*: quia (*supra* quia *scripsit* quod) *H4*: qui quidem *P2 uix L prius* tum] cum *P1 P2 3* me *om. D 4* ego *om. H4 5* petiturus] petitur (*sequitur lacuna circa quinque litterarum*) *P1*: petierim *D sim*] sum *M*: *om. P1 D Ex*] et *M H4 P2 6* communibus *P1 7* meo] in eo *D Hec*] Nec *P1 D*: hoc *P2 7-8* quidem persuadere non satis michi *P1 8* ad me quandoque] quoque *M P1 P2 10* suscepi] cepi *P2 12* eiusmodi (*supra scripsit* huiusmodi) *H4* amicis *om. P2 13* gloriosissimum *P2 ita om. D 14* studiorum] stridorum *D principum om. P2 15* potentissimorum *M H4 P1 sepe P1 18* hec cepta studia *P2 19* actibus] artibus *P2 sicque litteris L 20* sed *om. M 21* quamplures] complures *P1 21-22* totum hoc omne tempus] om- hoc tem- *P2 22* iam *om. P2 24* Itaque] ita *P2 26* rogo] oro *H4 P2 27* magnanimo] magnopere *P2 recipias*] ideo recipias *P1 Vale feliciter mei memor add. P2*

Aliud exemplum.

- Cum nuper Iherosolimas una proficisceremur, ea familiaritas ac necessitudo, que inter parentes nostros semper fuerat et tandem nobis hereditario quodam iure relicta est, roborata ac stabilita est adeo, ut nos inuicem ad bona quolibet inuitare et a malis retrahere, quantum possibile sit, debeamus. Sed quia
- 5 nudius tertius ad aures meas peruenit, quod litterarum studiis posthabitis honore proprio neglecto luxurie sordibus lasciuique animum applicuisti (quod mihi profecto molestissimum est ac mentem meam summe exagitat), plane, nisi huic sententie cesseris et ab huiusmodi uiciis te retraxeris, priscam de te opinionem existimationemque labefactam quamprimum sencies, familie ac patrie dedecori
- 10 eris et tandem fortunis prodigaliter expositis inops omnium amicorum expers presidio miserrimus hominum euades. Solent namque meretricule amatores, postquam ipsis bona blanditiis et dolo abstulerint, ad inopiam uergentes plus ceteris ludibrio habere et (quod peius estimo) eorundem egestatem atque insaniam per uicos et totam urbem dilatare. Quod si hanc uitam turpissimam, quam instituisti, aspernandam animum induxeris et litterarum studiis et
- 15 uirtutibus operam dederis, hoc tibi polliceri audeo: quam paucis annis elapsis summos honores, amplissimas laudes et ingentes diuicias consequeris. Scio namque te ingenio et eloquentia prope peditum singulari; quod quidem ingenium si scienciis, uirtutibus quoque accommodaueris, omnes coetaneos tuos antecellere uideare. Rogo igitur maiorem in modum, si unquam tibi rem gratam
- 20 facere studui aut efficere aliquid, quod tibi gratissimum sit, potero, ut tamen mei gratia ab hac uita turpissima ad honestatem te familiaque tua dignum reducas.

M, f. 115r-v; *H4*, f. 99v-100r; *P1*, f. 98r-v; *P2*, f. 23r-v; *Dz*, f. 39v-40r; *L*, f. L8r-v; *D*, f. d6r-v

sal Exemplum aliud *M*: Alia Epistola *P2* 1 hierosolimas *H4* proficiscemur *L Dz D*: profisceremur *H4* ac] atque *P1* 3 relicta et *M H4 P1 P2*: supra et scripsit est *H4* stabilitata *P2* bona apponat quolibet *P1* 4 sit] est *P2* 5 meas] nostras *P1* 7 ac] atque *M* meam mentem *H4* 9 patrie] patrie tue *M P1 P2* 11 hominum] omnium *P2* 12 dolo et blanditiis *P2* 13 estimo] est *P2* 13-14 atque] et *H4 P1 P2* 14 insaniam] infamiam *P2* totam urbem] urbes *P2* 14-15 turpissimam] impunissimam *P2* 16 tibi om. *D* quam] quod *M P1 D*: om. *P2* 17 honores summos *P1* 19 scienciis uirtutibus quoque] sci- et uirt- *M H4 P1 P2* 20 tibi rem gratam] rem ti- gra- *P2* 21 ut tamen] tum *M* 22 familiamque tuam *P1 P2* dignam *M* 23 Vale add. *P1*: Vale feliciter et amicam tuam dulciosculam ocus relinque add. *P2*

Aliud exemplum.

- Preceptis quidem meis adhuc optime paruisti, quod studeres nihil a uoluntate mea alienum committere, adeoque et a primis annis te mihi studiosissimum iudicaui, quecumque mihi uidentur honori tuo glorieque conducere. Nihilo uero minus nunc quoque te studiosum esse scio, quod et mea in te beniuolentia tuaque iterum in me caritas indies uehementior facta uideatur. Quapropter 5 quas nuper inimicitias cum principe suscepisti, scis aduersus uoluntatem meam maxime suscepisse. Nam et te a dignitate, quam in agro regino geris, facile repellet et seditionis tu sibi emulorum obtrectatione suspectus eris et familiaribus pene tuis infestissimus eris. Te igitur ab huiusmodi inimicitiis 10 abstinere iubeo et ab ipso ueniam sapientissime petere. Id enim si feceris, persuadet is sibi indignationem tuam illam non quidem de industria factam, sed inconsulto potius quodam animi calore teque non solum pristino amori restituet, uerum etiam nouas indies dignitates tibi demandabit et sic fere quodam pietatis presidio ab obtrectoribus te distinguet. Que cum ita sint, cures 15 diligenter uelim, ut principi supplices, si quid stomachatus de te sit, dignetur tibi remittere, ne quid etiam mihi et reliquis familiaribus tuis detrimenti hee tue inimicie afferant.

M, f. 115v (una cum sequenti simplicem epistolam constituit); *H3*, f. 27r (usque ad uersum 3 iudicaui); *H4*, f. 100r-v; *P1*, f. 98v-99v; *P2*, f. 23v; *Dz*, f. 40r-v; *L*, f. L8v; *D*, f. d6v-e1r

sal Exemplum Aliud *H4*: sequitur alia *P1*: om. *H3* *P2* 1 adhuc om. *H3* 2 et om. *D* annis] unguiculis *P2* 3 quecumque] ut quecumque *D* tuo] meo *M* *H4* *P1* *P2*: supra scripsit tuo *H4* 4 uero om. *D* studiosum] mihi stud- *M* *P1*: studiosissimum *P2* scio om. *D* quod] quo *D* et om. *D* 5 iterum] item *M* *H4* *P1* *P2*: supra scripsit iterum *H4*: om. *D* iterum in me] in me item *P2* videntur *M* 6 cum nostro principe *M* *H4* *P1* *P2* 7 meam om. *M* suscepisse] suscepisti *M* *P1*: cepisse *P2* in agro regino] in urbe Mantuana *P2*: agrigentino *D* 8 sibi et emulorum *P2* eris om. *D* 9 pene tuis] pene tuis omnibus *M* *H4*: tuis pene omnibus *P2* infestissimus] iniustissimus *P2* 11 non quidem] qui- non *P2* de om. *P2* 14 ab om. *P2* obtrectoribus] obtre- tuis *H4* *P2*: obtrectoribus *D* sint] sunt *H4* 15 de te sit] sit de te *P2* 16 etiam mihi] et mihi *M* *H4* *P1* *P2* hec *M*: he *P2* 17 Vale add. *P1*: Vale caue ne titubes mandataque frangas add. *P2*

Exemplum aliud.

- Quibuscumque in rebus et auxilio et consilio tuo opus erat, adeo facilem et beniuolum te prebuisti, ut quidem non modo mihi consuleres meque adiuuares. Verum ne aliquid quidem attemptare decreuisti, quin prius opinionem meam de ea re percepisses. Ex qua quidem tua in me beniuolentia ac familiaritate tantum
- 5 animi affectum fiduciamque nactus sum, ut nihil mihi ad impetrandum difficile uideatur; quare nec hoc quidem tempore adquiescere potero, quin ea, que honori ac utilitati tue coniunctorumque tuorum plurimum conducere possunt, ad te perscribam. Nosti quod nobilissima tua familia, que per longissima tempora a maioribus tuis descendit, nunc scilicet in te uno conseruatur. Igitur ad eam
- 10 conseruandam ut legitimo matrimonio te copules, oportet. Ex qua quidem copula et soboles tua propagatur, familia conseruatur et maiorum tuorum laus honorque immortalis redditur. Sin uero alio sis animo, maiorum tuorum gesta magnifica uirtutesque, quas maiores tui magnopere colebant, paulo post deleuit obliuio; fortune ac diuicie multis sudoribus ac uigiliis adquire ad externos
- 15 deuenient et ciuitas tua hoc preclaro genere, quod eam usque adeo mirum in modum decorauit, priuabitur. Que namque familia tot preclaros exercitus imperatores, tot iurisconsultos, tot legisperitos, tot omni genere uirtutis uiros predictos reipublice producet? Itaque ut cuidam te uirgini pulcerrime legitimo matrimonio cura coniungas, ex qua liberos procreare possis, qui ut ipsorum
- 20 parentes ciuitati nostre et nobis presertim familieque tue coniunctis minoribusque nostris consulere ualeant ab emulisque nostris et aduersariis possint tueri.

M, f. 115v-116r (*una cum antecedenti simplicem epistolam constituit*); *H4*, f. 100v-101r *P1*, f. 99v-100r; *P2*, f. 23v; *Dz*, f. 40v-41v; *L*, f. L8v-M1r; *D*, f. e1r

sal Exemplum (*postea Aliud addidit*) *H4*: aliud exemplum de adhortacione *P1*: Aliud exemplum *D*: *om. M P2 1 prius et om. M H4 P1 P2 tuo om. P2 tert. et*] ac *D 2 quidem om. H4 P1 P2 non mihi modo P2 5 animi*] animi mei *P1 ad impetrandum difficile*] diff- ad imp- *M: imp- diff- D 7 plurimumque H4 possint M P2 8 tua familia*] fam- tua *P2 10 te matrimonio M H4 P1 D 11 familia*] familiaque *P1: familia tua P2 13 deleuit*] delebit *H4 P1 P2 D: supra -bit scripsit uit H4 16 decorauit*] deornauit *P1 17 iurisconsultos*] iurisperitos *P2 uirtutis uiros*] uiros uirtute *P2 18 reipublice om. P2 producit D alidam L 19 procurare (supra -cur- scripsit cre) H4 ipsorum*] eorum *P1 20-21 moribusque L Dz D: maioribusque P1 21 emulisque nostris et aduersariis*] emulis nos- et ab adu- *P2: emulis et adu- nos- M possunt P2 22 Vale et tibi quantocumque amicam perdulcem coniunge add. P2*

Aliud exemplum.

- Accepi superioribus his diebus ex litteris Iohannis, quod laudum mearum amplificatorem simulque honorum meorum defensorem, emulis etiam meis te aduersarium prebuiisti; preterea in rebus meis familiaribus gerendis te adeo familiarem ac facilem prebuiisti, ac si res tua propria ageretur. Ex qua quidem re ea
- 5 mihi oblata est fiducia, ut nihil abs te impetrandum mihi difficile uideatur, praesertim cum ea abs te rogo, quae utilitati tuae conferre aliquid possunt. Credo equidem te non fugere, quanto tempore ciuitas nostra obsidione tenetur et quemadmodum milites praedia nostra deuastarunt; agri desolati relinquuntur et pene omnia ad nihilum redacta sunt. Quam ob rem frumento incipimus deficere, quod
- 10 profecto tanti existimatur, ut estimatio uix ualeat pecunia coequari. Sed quia frumento admodum te abundare gaudenter percepi, tibi persuasum esse uelim, ne illud aliquo pacto hoc tempore distrahas, sed magis aliud compares ac frumento tuo adicias; quamprimum enim ab ista obsidione liberabimur (quod paulo post futurum spero), frumentum tuum ipsum huc adduci facias et eo pretio quo libet
- 15 uendetur. Quod ut facilius fieri possit, me scito omni studio et diligentia pro uirili mea cooperaturum. Quod si frumentum tuum nunc uenundare (ut ex eisdem litteris didici) statuisses, non poteris id percipere pretium, quod decuplum decursis tribus mensibus perciperes, nec aderunt hii mercatores, qui actenus frumentum a te emere tibi pecunia numerata satisfacere soliti sunt, sed potius rusticis et
- 20 uicinis credendum tuis et hoc creditum ab eis exigere difficilimum erit. Si igitur preces atque adhortationes mee quid apud te ualeant, frumentum hoc tempore apud te uenundare non festina. Sed potius te para, ut, quamprimum hostes decesserint, nulla mora precedente huc aduehi possit, ut et tu pecuniam in magna quantitate percipias et nos tibi familiaritate coniuncti, qui fame pene
- 25 destructi sumus, consolari et refici possimus.

M, f. 116r-v; *H4*, f. 101r-v; *P1*, f. 100r-v (*usque ad uersum 13 adicias*); *P2*, f. 23v; *Dz*, f. 41v-42r; *L*, f. M1r-v; *D*, f. e1r-v

sal Exemplum (*postea Aliud addidit*) *H4*: om. *P2* 1 quod] quod te *M H4 P1* mearum om. *P2* 2 honorum] bonorum *D* meis] magis *P1*: om. *P2* 3 te om. *P1* 4 si om. *D* tua om. *M* 6 rogo] peto *P2* conferre aliquid] aliquid conferre *H4*: aliquid inferre (*supra in-* *scripsit* con) *P2* 6-7 equidem] enim *H4* 7 et om. *P2* 8 agri] agri nostri *P2* relinquuntur *L Dz* *D* 10 tanti] tanti precii *P1* existimatur] extimatur *M*: estimatur *P1 P2* estimatio] existimatio *L Dz D*: estimator *M* 10-11 frumento admodum te] te frum- adm- *M H4 P1 P2* 14 ipsum om. *P2* huc om. *H4* 15 uendetur] vendere *M P2*: venderetur *D* 16 operaturum *D* uenundare] vendere *P2* 16-17 uenundare ut ex eisdem litteris didici statuisses] ut ex eis- lit- did- vendere stat- *P2* percipere pretium] pre- perc- *P2* decursis] percursis *P2* 18-19 frumentum a te] a te frum- *P2* 19 innumerata *P2* 20 erit om. *M* 21 exortaciones *P2 D* 22 non] ne *M H4 P2* ut om. *P2* 23 et om. *D* 23-24 pecunias in maxima multitudine *P2* 24 fame] inedia *P2* 25 destructi sumus] perimus *P2*: destituti sumus *D* possumus *L P2* Vale feliciter vir optime et suasui meo obsecunda. Ex bononia *add. P2*

Exemplum aliud.

- Casum quidem sapientissimi patris tui peracerbe tuli, qui kalendas Iunii mihi renuntiatus est; neque enim poteram non commoueri, qui non minorem persuaderem ex eius mihi morte iacturam factam esse quam tibi. Erat enim is mihi antiqua familiaritate coniunctus et rerum mearum diligens administrator. Nescio
- 5 autem mei potius quam tui causa molestia hec mihi illata sit; te enim ut fratrem colo et non minus pene tibi quam mihi amoris tribuo. Verius tamen dicam utriusque me uicem dolere atque ita dolere, ut summis lacrimis conficerer, nisi me consuetudo uel potius lex nature prohiberet, que docet neminem uitam suscipere posse, nisi moriendum sibi proponat et paratus sit, quecumque obtulerit fortuna pericula, equo animo ferre. Sapientissimum quoque eum semper existimaui, qui, quociens casus euentum uiderit nulla posse ratione depelli, nihil omnimode meroris inducat. Morti enim resistere temerarium est; ea namque talis est, ut differri quidem possit, euitari autem minime. Varia autem sunt genera mortis atque hii incendio, illi aquarum suffocatione, hii cordis calamitate,
- 10 illi miserando ferarum impetu moriuntur. Itaque patris tui obitum eo equiori animo feres, quo magis natura proxime mortis spem eius interitus accedit. Nam et domi mortuus est et grandis etate interiit, ut concessisse illum nature putemus. Nullum denique aptius tibi solatium inuenies quam gentilium sapientiam simul atque animi magnitudinem, ex quibus Catho pro defuncto filio uiro clarissimo
- 20 laudationem habuit, in qua reliquis, qui ad funus conuenerant, consolationis attulit consilia. Quonam animo Q. Fabius consularis uiri filii sui obitum tulerit, omnes intelligunt atque hii gentiles nihil omnimode ueritatis sacrosancte fidei hic attingebant, que sola nos pene cogit ad nostrorum casus fortiter ferendos et quicquid Deo placuit magnanimo recipiendum. Que cum ita sint, pectoris amaritudines quantopere commotas quam facile deponas et commori quidem proprium homini esse cogitabis. Sapientis autem e<s>t, quod humana natura afferat, sapientissime moderari.
- 25

M, f. 116v-117r; *H4*, f. 101v-102v; *P2*, f. 24r; *Dz*, f. 42v-43r; *L*, f. M1v; *D*, f. e1v-e2r

sal Exemplum consolacionis *M*: Exemplum *H4* *Dz* *D*: om. *P2* 1 peracre (*supra scripsit* peracerbe) *P2* 1-2 renuntiatus mihi *M* 5 mei] an mei *P2* 6 amorem *P2* 7 prius dolere] dolore *M* 9 suscipere] accipere *H4* 12 omnimode] omnino *M* *P2* resistere] posse resistere *P2* 14 atque] nanque *D* cordis] cedis *M* *H4* *P2* (*in margine* cordis *add. H4*) 15 post impetu *add.* hi obscuro carcere, hi obsidione *P2* moriuntur] periire *P2* 16 natura proxime *ego*: nature proxima *codd.* mortis proxima *P2* mortis] morte *M* spem eius interitus accedit] fine (!?) *P2* accedit *ego*: accidit *codd.* 17 *alt.* et om. *D* 18 tibi apcius *P2* 20 venerant *H4* 21 consilia attulit *H4* *P2* animo] modo *P2* sui om. *M* *H4* *P2* 22 omnimode] omnimodo *M*: omnino *P2*: omnino de *D* ueritatibus *D* 23 hic] id *M* ad nostrorum] aduersarios *M* 24 placuerit *P2* magnanimitate *P2* suscipiendum *M* *H4* *P2* sint] sunt *M* 25 tantopere *H4* 26 homini] hominis *M* *H4* *P2* autem et humana *L* *Dz* *D*: autem quod hum- *M* *P2*: autem et quod hum- *H4* 27 moderare *P2* Vale feliciter amice mi et vite mee solatium *add. P2*

Aliud exemplum.

- Doleo quidem uehementissime, quod edes tue incendio perierunt, et eo magis doleo, quo magis animaduerto, quibus delitiis qua iocunditate quibus denique oblectationibus in eis sim sepe delectatus. lactura autem, quam tu ex eo incendio consequeris, non minus mihi dolores attulit. Scio enim quas impensas et quot
- 5 labores ipsis edibus construendis sustulisti. Et quia ea inter nos contracta est familiaritas fraternitasque, ut omnia nostra bona corporalia fortune uiribus subi-
ciuntur, que arbitrio suo ea administrat (illi bona amplificat, illi uero diminuit), non potui mihi persuadere operepretio esse, si qua preter equitatem et fata acciderunt, ut tanto merore conficerer. Fatuum etiam semper existimaui ea
- 10 deflere, que neque humane subiecta sunt potentie neque aliqua prudentia, quin eueniant, possunt precauere. Hanc meam existimationem tibi subicere memento, obsecro, tam innumerabilia regna, tam preciosissima edificia, urbes et castella incendio aut ruina esse deuastata. Recordare Troyam, que potentia sua ceteris regionibus dominabatur, edibus pulcerrimis atque edificitiis alias urbes superasse;
- 15 nunc uero desolata deuastata et inhabitabilis relictata est. Que si te non possunt consolari ac dolorem tuum minuire, saltem hoc te consoletur, quod paulo ante domus istius uiri ignis ui consumpta est simulque pene omnia bona sua neque tot sibi supersunt facultates, ut eam ualeat reficere. Tibi uero tot relictate sunt diuicie, ut domum tuam non modo reficere, uerum preclariorem construere potes. Quod
- 20 si nec illud dolorem tuum leuiat, propone ante oculos gentilium sapientiam, qui luminis fidei expertes fuere; nihilominus quecumque ipsis aduersa acciderant, equo animo ferre studuerunt. Quantomagis tu, qui Christianus religiosissimus es ac Sacre Scripture scientiis magnopere preditus, debes ea, que Deum immortalem nobiscum et bonis nostris disponere uelle senseris, nedum laudare, sed etiam
- 25 animo gratissimo acceptare. Itaque si omnia ista tecum reuolueris, istum qui nuper accidit tibi casum non tam molesto atque iniquo animo feres.

M, f. 117v-118r; *H4*, f. 103r-104r; *P2*, f. 24v; *Dz*, f. 44r-45r; *L*, f. M1v-M2r; *D*, f. e2v-e3r

sal Aliud consolacionis de rebus amissis *M*: Exemplum consolacionis de rebus amissis *H4*
Dz D: om. *P2* 2 denique] autem (*supra scripsit* animi) *P2* 3 tu om. *P2* 4 minus] minores
M P2 mihi] mihi quam tibi *M P2* quot] quos *P2* 6 inter omnia et corporalia legunt
nostra bona (bona om. *H4*) ferme communia (communialia ferme *P2*) videantur non minus
damni me ac te consecutum fore sane arbitror. Quia uero optime intelligo quod diuicie et
bona nostra *M H4 P2*: haec omnia uerba sublineat, i.e. tollenda putat *H4* 8 mihi] uero mihi
P2 operepretium *M H4 P2 Dz D* fata] vota mea *M H4 P2*: supra uota scripsit fata *H4*
11 existimationem] estimationem *M* subice *H4 P2* 14 atque] et *M H4 P2* 15 uero om. *M*
17 istius uiri] uicini tui *P2* simulque] atque sim- *H4* sua bona *H4 Dz D* 17-18 tot sibi]
sibi tot *H4* 18 ualeant *Dz D* relictate] reliqua *M*: reliqua *H4 P2* (*supra -que scripsit* icte *H4*)
19 construere] constituere *P2* 20 illud] istud *M H4 P2* leniat *H4 P2* (*supra -n- scripsit* v
H4) pone *M* oculos] ocu- tuos *P2* 21 fuerunt *H4* ipsis] illis *P2* tu om. *P2* 25 ista
omnia *D* 26 tibi accidit *P2* atque] ac *M H4 P2* iniquo] iniquo impacientique *P2* feras
M sed apud te dices dominus dedit dominus abstulit sicut domino placuit Ita factum (?) est
scilicet (?) nomen (?) domini benecti (?) Vale feliciter persuasionis mee memor *add. P2*

Exemplum consolationis de peste.

- Hesterno uesperī, quo Iohannes noster adueniebat, is me certiore reddidit pestis discrimen Bononiam admodum misere inuasisse, quod profecto mihi summum dolorem attulit. Statui namque Ydibus Maii illuc proficisci et studium meum ceptum perficere. Ibi enim uictualium maior copia, doctorum
- 5 legentium maior diligentia simulque peritia et (ut omnia breui complectar sermone) amplior facultas studendi prestolatur. Preterea plurimum egre fero tot mihi preceptores familiares ac amicitia coniunctissimos mortis miserande periculo subiectos fore et eo magis tui gratia indoleo, quo te antiquiori amore mihi coniunctum scio. Quia uero hactenus omnis ferme Ytalia hac detestanda
- 10 peste laborauit atque omnia gymnasia alia pene a scholaribus deserta relictasunt, puto aut flagello Dei aut ex aeris aut regionis corruptione omnem nostram regionem molestari oportere; cui flagello sola Bononia superesse minime poterat. Quia etiam intelligo legis diuine ac nature preceptis modis omnibus nos teneri neque ipsis aliqua ratione posse resistere, stultum arbitratus sum
- 15 ammodo pestem tam nephariam ac detestandam lugere. Te uero, quem lectura, quam hoc anno istic obtinere meruisti, discedere nephas esset, maiorem in modum obsecro obtestorque, ut eadem clade tuum animum perturbari nequaquam sinas; neque enim cure tue ac molestie, etsi te consumerent, ad aerem purgandum pestemque repellendam aliquid conducerent. Sint tibi exem-
- 20 plo clarissimi uiri iurisconsulti, qui toto anno Ferrarie a lectionibus nunquam feriatī sunt; et tamen illic pestis inualescebat et longe plures in die quam Bononie interierunt. Animaduertas denique uerba Oratii, qui optatam metam cursu pertingere cupientem multa ferre oportere dixit; tamen in quo fidei lumen nullum uigebat, tu autem religionem Christianam profiteris. Si hec
- 25 mentis tue oculis subicies, huius pestis discrimen, ymo mortis periculum aspernandum facile existimabis.

22-23 *Hor. Ep. 2,3,412*

M, f. 118v-119r; *H3*, f. 39v (*usque ad uersum 3 proficisci*); *H4*, f. 104v-105r; *P2*, f. 24v-25r; *Dz*, f. 46r-v; *L*, f. M2r-v; *D*, f. e3v

sal om. *H3* *P2* 1 noster om. *H3* aduenerat *M H3 H4 P2 Dz D* 2 discrimine *L H4 Dz D* Bononiam] in (?) Wingarten *H3* mihi om. *P2* Maii] Iunii *P2* 4 inceptum *P2* 6 studendi facultas *M H4 P2* fero] gero *P2* 8 antiquiori] ampliori *P2* 9 uero om. *M* 10 alia] ob eam *M H4 P2* (*sublineauit eam et supra scripsit aliena H4*); aliena *Dz D* 11 sint *M*: sit *Dz D* 12 molestare *D* cui om. *P2* 13 modis] meis *P2* 15 nephariam] nefandam *P2* lectura] a lec- *P2* 17 obsecror *H4* 18 nequaquam] minime *P2* tue cure *D* molestia *Dz D* assumerent *M* 19 sunt *P2* 20 uiri om. *H4 P2* consulti *M* 21 et tamen] attamen *H4* in die] inde *P2* 22 Banonie *Dz* optatum metum *P2* 23 cursum *P2* in quo tamen *P2* 25 mortis om. *P2* 26 extimabis *P2* Vale add. *M*: Vale feliciter dulcissime amicorum add. *P2*

V = Philelphus, *Epistolarum libri XVI*, Venetiarum c. 1473

L, f. M2v

B = Philelphus, *Epistolarum libri XXXVII*, Venetiarum 1502, f. 4r

Aliud exemplum.

Quod me hortaris, ne properem neque desperem (fore enim, ut melius mihi Venetiis quam usquam gentium consulatur), hortaris tu quidem recte, modo non sit pretio spes emenda. Quare si ita certi quicquam intra constitutum tempus allatum fuerit, ut intelligam non esse diutius mihi arandum littus, sequar consi-
 5 lium tuum uel in hoc uite discrimine. Sin aliud nihil quam uerba animaduertero, faciam ut scripsi ad te antea meque aut ad Bononiensis recipiam aut Florentinos. Vale. Ex Venetiis iii Idus Februarias.

sal Franciscus Philelfus Leonardo Iustiniano sal dicit *V B* (dicit *om. B*) 1 Quo *L* 5 Si
B 6 aut ad Florentinos *B* 7 Mccccxxviii add. *V B*

Aliud exemplum.

Ego quod fore nunquam putaui, hoc uesperis nauim inscendere institui Ferrariam uersus nauigaturus. Inde Bononiam petam, ubi si honesta mihi conditio proposita fuerit, eam accipiam. Nam si secus ceciderit, concedam ad Florentinos, quos audio Grece litterature atque eloquentie imprimis studiosos. Quicquid
 5 egero, quamprimum tibi declarabo litteris, quo meos ad me libros aduolaturus cures. His enim mihi, ut scis, admodum opus est. Vale. Ex Venetiis.

sal Franciscus Philelfus Francisco Barbaro sal. dicit *V B* (dicit *om. B*) 6 Idibus
 Februariis Mccccxxviii add. *V B*

Harry VREDEVELD

ASTERISCO PRAENOTANDA:
NOTES TO ERASMUS' *DE CONTEMPTU MVNDI*

Before I proceed to the business of writing notes on Erasmus' *De contemptu mundi*, I ought, perhaps, to explain "asterisco praenotanda" in the title of this article*. That this phrase, of all things, should itself require to be marked with an asterisk is a piquant twist of irony that might have brought a smile to Erasmus' lips.

The expression occurs in the editio princeps of his *Panegyricus ad Philippum* (Antwerp, [1504]), where a marginal note, reprinted in subsequent editions, tells the reader: "Asterisco praenotanda sententia" (ASD IV, 1, p. 37, apparatus criticus to l. 367). What are we to make of this sidenote? Otto Herding, the editor of the work in the Amsterdam *Opera omnia*, frankly declares himself at a loss. Elsewhere, he says, Erasmus uses the asterisk in the traditional way, to indicate a corrupt passage he could not emend. But why would he want to add an asterisk in his own book, the printing of which he was supervising himself?

To understand the phrase in Erasmus' sense, we have to look at his usage elsewhere. As so often, the *Adagia* is a good place to start. In *Adag.* 457 and again in *Adag.* 2442 we learn that the phrase "stellis signare" is to be taken in a metaphorical sense. Just as the stars guide sailors on the high seas, Erasmus explains, so the little stars or "asterisci" in edited books guide the readers' attention to something especially worthy of note. This meaning comes out clearly in his discussion of the question "Quis sit modus repetendae lectionis" prefacing his *Familiarium colloquiorum formulae*: "Si quid venustius, si quid elegantius, si quid

* I have used the following editions of Erasmus' works: *Omnia opera*, Basel, 1538-1542, 9 vols., hereafter referred to as *BAS*; *Opera omnia*, ed. J. Clericus, Leiden, 1703-1706, repr. Hildesheim, 1961-1962, 10 vols., hereafter referred to as *LB*; *Opera omnia*, Amsterdam, 1969-, hereafter referred to as *ASD*. The abbreviation *CWE* refers to *Collected Works of Erasmus*, Toronto, 1974-. The poems of Erasmus are cited according to the edition in *CWE* 85-86 / *ASD* I, 7. For kind advice and helpful criticism I am grateful to Drs. Nicolaas van der Blom as well as to the anonymous readers for this journal.

concinnius dictum videbitur, annotabis indice aut asterisco apposito” (ASD I, 3, p. 119, ll. 14-16). And in Ep. 283, ll. 129-130, commending the numerous splendid lines in Andrea Ammonio’s panegyric poem to King Henry VIII, he observes that the poem contains many more verses that deserve to be marked with an asterisk (“sunt et alia permulta digna quae notentur asteriscis”). Evidently, then, it is in this sense that we should read the sidenote “asterisco praenotanda” in the *Panegyricus*: it points to a “sententia” so noteworthy that it deserves highlighting with an asterisk.

Since antiquity, of course, editors have added asterisks to texts for a rather different purpose, to alert the reader to irredeemable corruptions and omissions in the transmitted text. As Professor Herding mentions, Erasmus himself uses asterisks like this in his edition of Seneca’s works (1515). It is interesting to see, however, that his use of the “asteriscus” in editorial work is by no means limited to spotlighting a corrupt passage that he cannot emend. In fact, he employs the asterisk also to mark problems and obscurities that demand explanation in a footnote. To put it differently: an asterisk in the edited text points to the corresponding “little star” at the foot of the page — the scholium that casts light in the darkness. In Ep. 2091, l. 196, for example, he says that his notes, like so many little stars (“stellulis”), are intended to elucidate textual problems in Seneca’s works. Naturally such “asterisci” can address not just editorial matters but also questions of interpretation. In the preface to his edition of Cicero’s *De officiis* (Ep. 152, ll. 20-21) Erasmus remarks that his explanatory notes are like little stars illuminating all manner of obscurities in the text: “crebras annotatiunculas asscripsimus, quae velut asterisci quidam commode ad omnem caliginem alluceant”. And introducing the first edition of his *Adagiorum Collectanea* (Ep. 126, ll. 105-106), he writes that an obscure proverb ought to be marked with an asterisk and explained with due care (“asterisco prenotandum diligentiusque explicandum”).

It goes without saying that the phrase “asterisco praenotanda” in my title should be understood, not in the sense of the marginal comment in the *Panegyricus*, but in the sense just adumbrated. The following notes try to shed light, however faint, on the text of *De contemptu mundi*. As such, they wish to supplement the insightful commentaries by Sem Dresden in ASD V, 1 and Erika Rummel in CWE 66 and to round out the textual criticism offered in Marcel Haverals, “Une première rédaction du ‘De contemptu mundi’ d’Erasmus dans un manuscrit de Zwolle”, *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 30 (1981), pp. 40-54.

Line references to *De contemptu mundi* are keyed to the edition in ASD V, 1, pp. 39-86. Abbreviations for ancient and patristic authors as well as for Erasmus' works are the ones used in ASD. The sigla for printed editions of *De contemptu mundi* are Dresden's, except for the siglum *E*. Mentioned in his list of editions on p. 35 and again in the "Conspectus siglorum" on p. 38 as referring to the Cologne reprint of 1523, *E* is absent from the critical apparatus itself. The siglum *Z* indicates the reading of the Zwolle manuscript, as reported in Haverals' article. References to Petrarch's *De remediis vtriusque fortunae* (*Rem.*) and *Secretum* are to his *Opera quae extant omnia*, I (Basel, 1554; repr. Ridgewood, N.J., 1965).

Works cited in abbreviated form:

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| Curtius | Ernst Robert Curtius, <i>European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages</i> , trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton, 1967 ²). |
| Haverals | Marcel Haverals, "Une première rédaction du 'De contemptu mundi' d'Erasme dans un manuscrit de Zwolle", <i>Humanistica Lovaniensia</i> 30 (1981), pp. 40-54. |
| Nachträge | <i>Nachträge zu A. Otto, Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten der Römer</i> , ed. Reinhard Häussler (Hildesheim, 1968). |
| Otto | August Otto, <i>Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer</i> (Leipzig, 1890; repr. Hildesheim, 1971). |
| Paynell | <i>De Contemptu Mundi (1488?) by Desiderius Erasmus, Translated by Thomas Paynell</i> , facsimile reprint of the Berthelet edition of 1533, introduced by W.J. Hirten (Gainesville, Fla., 1967). |
| Vredeveld | Harry Vredeveld, "The Ages of Erasmus and the Year of his Birth", <i>Renaissance Quarterly</i> 46 (1993), pp. 754-809. |
| Walther | Hans Walther, <i>Prouerbia sententiaeque Latinitatis medii aevi</i> , 6 vols. (Göttingen, 1963-1969). |

A. TEXTUAL NOTES

Epistula (Ep. 1194)

- | | |
|----|---|
| 6 | <i>essent</i> According to Allen, <i>D</i> reads "erant". |
| 16 | <i>desinam</i> BAS and LB change this to "desinant". |

De contemptu mundi

- 18 *prudenter* Read “*pudenter*”, as in *B-D*. Balancing the preceding “*amanter*”, “*pudenter*” here is meant to recall the repeated opposition of “*amor*”-“*pudor*” in ll. 10-14.
- 20 *vt* Read “*aut*”, as in *Z* and *B-D*.
- 53 *motus* Haverals (p. 45) wonders if we should prefer “*metus*”, the reading of *Z*. But “*motus*” makes far better sense and is supported by a close parallel in the contemporaneous *Orat. fun. Bert. de Heyen*, *LB VIII*, 554 *D*: “*inter tantos fluctuantis seculi tumultus*”.
- 173 *in mari* The reading of *A-C* is a misprint for “*in mare*” (*D*). Cf. *Hor. Carm. III*, 24, 47-50: “*nos in mare proximum / gemmas et lapides aurum et inutile, / summi materiem mali, / mittamus*”.
- 256-257 *debacchationes* The apparatus criticus does not match the edited text.
- 285 *fac virtutem amplectere* Since the construction with “*fac*” requires a subjunctive (cf., for example, p. 42, ll. 71-72; p. 58, l. 505; p. 60, ll. 547-548 and 560-561) “*amplectere*” should be changed to “*amplectare*”, as in *B D*.
- 291 *splendoris atque fastidii* Read “*splendoris atque fastigii*”, as in *D*. For the sense cf. p. 50, l. 278: “*illustres tituli atque honorum splendor*”; p. 51, l. 319: “*splendore atque maiestate*”; p. 42, l. 81: “*dignitatum fastigia*”.
- 308 *immane* Haverals (p. 44) notes that *A* gives the reading “*immanae*” and implies that the form “*immane*” is among the “*fautes étonnantes*” of Dresden’s edition. But “*immane*”, which comes from *Iuv.* 10, 107, is the correct form; “*immanae*” is formally and metrically impossible.
- 312 *Cum* The reading “*Tum*” in *Z* is the correct one, since “*euanuerit*” later in the sentence is evidently a future perfect indicative, not a perfect subjunctive. “*Tum*” introduces a statement; it does not continue the preceding question.
- 356-357 *nemo sit qui credat* The context demands that “*nemo*” be followed by a negative. Accordingly we should either adopt the reading of *Z*, “*nemo sit qui non credat*”, or emend to “*nemo sit quin credat*”.
- 443 *liuor tinget* Haverals (p. 45) wonders whether we should prefer “*liuor turget*”, the reading of *Z*. But “*liuor turget*”

- makes no sense here. Furthermore, the context requires a future tense.
- 448 *petas* The verb stands in a series of verbs in the future tense. The correct form must be “petes”, as in *D*.
- 465 *essent* Read “erant”, as in *Z* and *B-D*.
- 491 *a hospite* An obvious error for “ab hospite” (*B-D*).
- 577 *differe* A misprint for “differre”.
- 631 *ipsam* Read “ipsa”, as in *Z* and *B D*.
- 641 *Alioqui* An error for “Aliquo” (*Z*).
- 659 *certo* Probably a misprint for “certe”, the reading in *Z* and *D*. Erasmus could not have been pleased with the jingling phrase “certo sunt multo”, particularly since this is immediately followed with “plura et potiora”.
- 704-705 *‘Ita est’, inquis, ‘qui* The apparatus criticus evidently misrepresents the reading in *B*.
- 705 *qui* The correct reading is “quin” (*D*). *Z* gives the meaningless “quum”.
- 762 *cura* A misprint for “curia” (*Z* and *B D*).
- 777 *dubitaeurit* A misprint for “dubitauerit”.
- 782 *conuiuis* In his critical apparatus Dresden reports that *D* reads “conuiuis” and “conuiuiis”. But “conuiuiis” occurs only in *C* (and *Z*), not in *D*.
- 829 *extrema* The correct reading is “externa” (*Z* and *D*), contrasting with “interna” in the next sentence. Cf. l. 807: “Nam et externa illa quies internam fouet, alit, tutatur”; l. 921: “Hic interna illa pax maxima, externa nisi hic nusquam”.
- 984 *vlla* Read “illa”, as in *Z* and *D*.
- 1108 *in aconita* Read “inter aconita”, as in *Z* and *D*.

B. COMMENTARY NOTES

Epistula (Ep. 1194)

- 9 *ad improbas preces* For the exordial topos “I write at the urging of a friend” see Curtius, p. 85; H.J. de Jonge in *ASD* IX, 2, p. 59, note to ll. 6-7.
- 10 *nepotem* Most readers, including Thomas Paynell, P.S. Allen, S. Dresden, and R.A.B. Mynors (in *CWE* 8, Ep.

1194 = *CWE* 66, p. 134), understand the word in the classical sense “nephew”. In ecclesiastical Latin, however, it often also means “cousin”; Willem Hermans, for example, is called Cornelis Gerard’s “nepos” in Ep. 28, l. 6. That is the most likely sense here, since Jodocus and the writer of the declamation are said to be virtually the same age (p. 40, l. 5) and to have been companions since childhood (p. 40, l. 22). Cf. Jean-Baptiste Pineau, *Erasmus, sa pensée religieuse* (Paris, 1924), p. 32, note 5; Albert Hyma, *The Youth of Erasmus* (Ann Arbor, 1930), pp. 169-176. The sense “nephew” may definitely be ruled out in the heading’s original version, where the writer is explicitly said to be Erasmus himself. Edmond J.M. van Eijl, “De interpretatie van Erasmus’ ‘De contemptu mundi’”, in: *Pascua mediaevalia: Studies voor Prof. Dr. J.M. de Smet*, ed. R. Lievens et al. (Louvain, 1983), p. 338, rightly notes that Erasmus could not have had a nephew. After all, his one brother was a monk, and the two brothers did not have a sister.

- 12 *Alieno stomacho scripsi* Cf. ll. 17-18: “alieno scripta stomacho”; Ep. 176, l. 6: “quid enim molestius quam alieno scribere stomacho?”; Ep. 181, ll. 52-53: “alieno scripsi stomacho”; Hier., pref. to Orig. *Hom. in Lc.*, PL 26, 229-230: “molestam rem et tormento similem alieno, vt ait Tullius, stomacho et non suo scribere”.

De contemptu mundi

- 10-11 *Quid igitur ... sinit* Cf. Hier., *Adv. Ruf.* 8, *CCSL* 79, 81: “Quid me vis facere, bone amice? Taceam? Videbor crimen agnoscere. Loquar? Terres me gladiis tuis, et accusationem non iam ecclesiasticam, sed tribunalium comminaris”. Cf. also Ter. *Phorm.* 186: “loquarne? ... taceam?”; Verg. *Aen.* III, 39: “eloquar an sileam?”; Erasmus, Ep. 5, ll. 18-19; Ep. 12, l. 12: “quid mihi faciendum existimas? Scribamne an potius taceam?”; *Moria*, *ASD* IV, 3, p. 106, l. 620: “eloquarne an sileam?”; *De cop. verb.*, *ASD* I, 6, p. 118, l. 249; *Eccles.*, *ASD* V, 5, p. 110, ll. 116-117.

- 21-24 *Maximae ... benevolentia* There is a very similar captatio benevolentiae in *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 400, l. 15-p. 401, l. 4 (at the beginning of another suasoria, the *Encomium matrimonii*).
- 32-33 *facit ... sibi* Cf. *Adag.* 2: "Amicus alter ipse". Cf. also Otto 1914; Erasmus, Ep. 5, l. 27: "Scis certo te mihi esse hac anima chariorem"; Ep. 7, ll. 2-3: "te ... hac anima, denique etiam me ipso chariorem habeam"; *Orat. funebr. Bert. de Heyen*, LB VIII, 553 A: "mater mea, mihi charior anima".
- 41-42 *Quis ... secundis* The sentence inverts the proverbial "fighting against the current"; see Otto 680.
- 49 *non sine lachrymis* Hor. *Carm.* III, 7, 7-8; Erasmus, Ep. 4, l. 10; *Carm.* 93, 17.
- 50 *gnatum ... cogitat, gnatum dormiens somniat* Cf. Ep. 3, l. 30: "te cogitamus, te somniamus"; Ep. 61, ll. 6-7: "Soli sumus, Christianum cogitamus Dormimus, te somniamus"; Ter. *Eun.* 194: "me somnies, me exspectes, de me cogites".
- 51 *animo peiora veretur* Quoted from Ov. *Met.* I, 587.
- 52-107 *Sed noui ... harena* This amplifies Hier. *Epist.* 14, 6, quoted in Erasmus, *De cop. verb.*, ASD I, 6, p. 245, ll. 164-172 as an example of extended metaphor (parable of the shipwrecked soul). For the image of the shipwreck cf. Erasmus, *Orat. funebr. Bert. de Heyen*, LB VIII, 554 D-E (with numerous close parallels in language and imagery, but praising Berta for the strength of character that allowed her to live outside a convent). Cf. also *Paean Virg.*, LB V, 1232 E-F; *Obsecratio*, LB V, 1233 E-1235 C; *Adag.* 1744, ASD II, 4, p. 176, l. 598 (with note); *Rat. ver. theol.*, LB V, 75 D. For the metaphor as an argument to induce youths to enter the safe harbor of the monastery see Ep. 447, ll. 260-263; *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 179, ll. 1779-1780.
- 54 *nudus euasi* Cf. *Breuiarium ad vsum insignis ecclesiae Sarum*, ed. F. Procter and C. Wordsworth, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1879-1886), III, col. 211, referring to Gregory the Great: "mutato repente seculi habitu monasterium petiit, et ex mundi huius naufragio nudus euasit".

- 60 *spumantes aspergine scopulos* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* III, 534: “obiectae salsa spumant aspergine cautes”.
- 68 *Sirenium male dulces moduli* Cf. Otto 1657; *Nachträge*, pp. 117 and 213; Erasmus, *Orat. funebr. Bert. de Heyen*, LB VIII, 554 E: “Sirenarum exitiales modos”; *Obsecratio*, LB V, 1234 F: “delitiarum blandissima Siren, exitialiter dulcibus cantilenis aures animumque sollicitat”; *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, ASD IV, 1, p. 63, l. 180: “Syrenum exitiales cantilenas”; Ep. 1304, l. 421: “Sirenium ... male dulcibus cantilenis”. For “male dulces” cf. also Prud. *Psychom.* 330 (of the fatally sweet scent emitted by Luxuria): “male dulcis odor”; cf. further ll. 69-70, below: “male blandas saeculi illecebras”; ll. 139-140, below: “male blanda mundi species”; *Carm.* 95, 53: “male blanda iuuenta”; *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, ASD IV, 1, p. 64, l. 183 (Siren song): “male blandae vocis”.
- 74-77 *nemo ... effugit* Cf. *Enchir.*, LB V, 60 B: “illae Sirenes [libidinis], quas haud fere quisquam euasit, nisi qui procul aufugit”.
- 75-76 *Vlysses ... sapientis perfectique personam gerit* In the allegorizing interpretation of the *Odyssey* in antiquity and the Christian Middle Ages, Odysseus was regarded as a paragon of wisdom and fortitude, a man unmoved by the temptations of the Sirens, indomitable in facing the disasters of life. See, for example, Hor. *Epist.* I, 2, 17-18: “quid virtus et quid sapientia possit, / vtile proposuit nobis exemplar Vlixen”; see further: Hugo Rahner, *Griechische Mythen in christlicher Deutung* (Zürich, 1957), pp. 424-430; *Symbole der Kirche: Die Ekklesiologie der Väter* (Salzburg, 1964), pp. 260-266; Erasmus, Ep. 52, ll. 41-45; *De cop. verb.*, ASD I, 6, p. 235, ll. 940-942; *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 337, ll. 1-3; p. 350, l. 22.
- 75-77 *Vlysses ... effugit* Odysseus, it is said here, plugs up his own ears with wax in order to avoid the Sirens’ song. The detail, which runs counter to Hom. *Od.* XII, 39-54 and 166-200, seems to have originated in St. Basil’s widely read booklet *Ad adolescentes* 4. It is not difficult to explain how St. Basil came to reinterpret the story. If Odysseus was indeed the exemplar of the wise man and if

such a man does not wantonly expose himself to temptation (see, for example, Sen. *Epist.* 31, 2; Otto 213 and 1657), it follows that he must have plugged up his ears against the Sirens' deadly song. Cf. ll. 154-157, below; *Orat. funebr. Bert. de Heyen*, LB VIII, 554 E: "Sirenarum exitiales modos surdis praeteriit auribus".

St. Basil's interpretation of Odysseus' encounter with the Sirens resurfaced in the Renaissance, most probably via the fifteenth-century Latin translation of the *Ad adolescentes* by Leonardo Bruni. The work, which furnishes important arguments to those Christians eager to study the pagan authors, remained outside of Erasmus' ken while he was still at Steyn; indeed, in his early works and letters against the barbarians he never once refers to St. Basil's work. Erasmus' immediate source must have been Bartholomaeus Zehender's *Silua carminum*, printed at Deventer on 16 February 1491. On the last page of this booklet, a copy of which he had in his possession by c. March 1491 (Ep. 28, ll. 20-22), he read: "Auribus oppletis caera versutus Vlysses / Syrenum molles praeteriit modulos". Certainly Erasmus' wording "aures oppleuerit" is far closer to Zehender's phrase "auribus oppletis" than to Bruni's translation of the passage in *Ad adolescentes* 4: "auresque claudendo".

Erasmus refers to the unhomeric variant even in later life, long after he became familiar with the epic at first hand — so powerful was the moral lesson it contains. See *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, ASD IV; 1, p. 63, l. 181; *Parab.* ASD I, 5, p. 170, ll. 154-156; *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 180, ll. 1800-1801; *Adag.* 3207, LB II, 1009 B; Ep. 2879, ll. 148-150. For occurrences in later Renaissance literature see Vredeveld, pp. 762-763, note 24.

- 76-77 *aures oppleuerit* Plaut. *Rud.* 905.
 83-86 *Quid Charybdium ... simulachrum* Cf. Otto 382; Erasmus, *Orat. funebr. Bert. de Heyen*, LB VIII, 554 E; *Decop. verb.*, ASD I, 6, p. 262, ll. 619-620; *Adag.* 2641.
 88 *indomitos irarum impetus* Cf. Sen. *Epist.* 104, 13: "indomitos amoris impetus".

- 93 *ad sydera sese tollentium* For the hyperbole cf. Verg. *Aen.* I, 103: “fluctus ... ad sidera tollit”; Ps. 106, 26 (of storm-tossed sailors): “Ascendunt vsque ad caelos”.
- 98-100 *Quid quod ... facies* Cf. *Obsecratio*, LB V, 1235 A.
- 107 *Nudus et* This is the standard reading in late medieval manuscripts and early printed editions of Verg. *Aen.* V, 871 (instead of “nudus in”). The conjunction “et”, therefore, should have been italicized in ASD.
- 107 *Palinure* The death of Aeneas’ helmsman Palinurus (Verg. *Aen.* V, 833-871) was a standard example for overconfidence in the face of the storms of life; see Thomas Brückner, “Der Tod des Palinurus. Mittelalterliche und humanistische Kommentare zu einer Episode aus dem 5. Buch der Aeneis”, in: *Studien zur Thematik des Todes im 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Paul R. Blum (Wolfenbüttel, 1983), pp. 49-62.
- 120 *in portu nauigat* Ter. *Andr.* 480: “ego in portu nauigo”; cf. Otto 1455; Erasmus, *Adag.* 46.
- 128-129 *tot mortis imagines* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* II, 369 (quoted in Erasmus, *Orat. funebr. Bert. de Heyen*, LB VIII, 554 D and *Orat. de pace*, LB V, 1235 B): “plurima mortis imago”; Ov. *Trist.* I, 11, 23: “quocumque aspexi, nihil est nisi mortis imago”.
- 129 *perpetua ... anxietate* See note to l. 836, below; cf. *Carm.* 94, 3-4: “perhenni ... anxietate”. The phrase “perpetua anxietate” comes from Iuv. 13, 211, quoted in l. 877, below.
- 136 *liquidi fontes* Verg. *Georg.* IV, 18 (in this metrical position).
- 139 *fascinat oculos* Cf. *Carm.* 94, 36; 96, 34; also *Gal.* 3, 1.
- 139 *male blanda* See note to l. 68, above.
- 143 *amicorum turbam* The phrase crops up again in ll. 457-458, below (where ASD mistakenly prints “comicorum turbam”).
- 144-145 *quid tandem ... amat misere* The model is Ter. *Ad.* 665-667: “quid illi tandem creditis / fore animi misero ..., / qui infelix haud scio an illam misere nunc amet”.
- 150 *Domi res ... ampla* Cf. Iuv. 12, 10: “res ampla domi”; Erasmus, *Adag.* 1970, ASD II, 4, p. 319, ll. 823-824: “diuites, quibus ampla res domi est”.

- 157 *saxea pectora* Ep. 9, l. 11; cf. Otto 1593; *Nachträge*, pp. 79, 116, and 209.
- 158-159 *quicquid in te est virium* Cf. Hor. *Epod.* 15, 12: “si quid in Flacco virium est [*variant reading for viri est*]”; Erasmus, *Carm.* 103, 24: “virium si quid mihi est”.
- 165-174 *At his ... poenitet* Cf. *Carm.* 96, 17-34.
- 165-166 *At his ... perniciosius* Cf. *Sir.* 10, 9-10: “Avaro autem nihil est scelestius.... Nihil est iniquius quam amare pecuniam”; l. 176, below: “auaricia (qua nihil est tetrius)”.
materiam For this form (rather than “materiem”) see *Adag.* 1097, *LB* II, 447 A; cf. *De cop. verb.*, *ASD* I, 6, p. 246, l. 191: “vitiorum materiam”. The same reading occurs in Petrarch, *Rem.* II, 13, p. 141: “gemmas et lapides, aurum et inutilem summi materiam mali”. The word should have been italicized in *ASD*.
- 175 *vitiis ac diuitiis* Cf. *Iul. exclus.*, in: *Erasmi opuscula: A Supplement to the Opera omnia*, ed. Wallace K. Ferguson (The Hague, 1933), p. 123, l. 1191: “diuitiis, immo vitiis”.
- 178 *Alter rei seruus ... non habet* The thought is proverbial; cf. Walther 4813a; 28167a-28168; 28183; Alanus de Insulis, *De planctu Naturae* XIII, 54-56: “Diuicias non diues habet, sed habetur ab ipsis. / Non est possessor nummi, sed possidet ipsum / Nummus”; Erasmus, *Carm.* 96, 101-104. Cf. also *Mt.* 6, 24.
- 186 *pretiosa pondera* Cf. Boeth. *Consol.* II, m. 5, 28-30, where “auri ... pondera” are dismissed as “pretiosa pericula”; Erasmus, *Carm.* 96, 59: “preciosa pericula”. For the oxymoron cf. also l. 606, below.
- 186-187 *quae et moleste ... cruciatus* Cf. Ep. 35, ll. 33-36 (Willem Hermans to Jacob Batt): “Multo sudore et capitis periculo congerunt, congesta anxie et cum metu seruant, non sine eiulatu amittunt”; *Enchir.*, *LB* V, 60 F: “quam miseris laboribus parantur, quantis periculis, quanta sollicitudine seruantur, quanto dolore amittuntur”; *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 249, ll. 26-27: “[opes] magno sudore congeri, maiore cura congestas seruari, maximo dolore diu seruatas amitti”; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 22, *ASD* V, 2, p. 380, ll. 753-754: “venantem excruciant desiderio, et habentem tum seruandi

- solicitudine, tum augendi studio, tum amittendi metu excarnificant”; also amplified in *Adag.* 2602. For the proverbial wisdom that riches bring only cares and worries see, for example, Walther 6059; 6108; 6112b; 6125; Hor. *Serm.* I, 1, 76-78; Erasmus, *Carm.* 96, 61-70.
- 188-189 *parandis inhiat* Cf. Lotario dei Segni (Pope Innocent III), *De miseria condicionis humane*, ed. R.E. Lewis (Athens, Georgia, 1978), II, 14 (“De auaricia”): “semper inhiat adquirendis”; Petrarch, *Rem.* II, 105, p. 222: “quaerendis inhias”; Erasmus, *Ep.* 35, ll. 35-36 (Willem Hermans to Jacob Batt): “nunquam partis fruuntur, dum semper pariendis inhiat”.
- 190 *montibus aurum aequauerit* Cf. Otto 1132; Erasmus, *Adag.* 815.
- 192-193 *Crescentem ... pecunia crescit* The two verses are quoted together also in *De sarc. eccles. concord.*, ASD V, 3, p. 281, ll. 814-815. Erasmus imitates Iuv. 14, 139 in *Carm.* 96, 81: “Auri dira sitis crescit crescentibus arcis”.
- 193 *crescit* This is a common reading (instead of “creuit”) in manuscripts and early printed editions of Iuv. 14, 139, reflected also in Walther 3731 and Erasmus, *De sarc. eccles. concord.*, ASD V, 3, p. 281, l. 815. The word should have been italicized in ASD.
- 200 *arca ferrata* Cf. Iuv. 11, 26: “ignorat quantum ferrata distet ab arca / sacculus”.
- 200-201 *non aliter ... incubas* Cf. *Ep.* 29, l. 46: “quibus hactenus ceu draco quispiam Hesperius incubas”; *Enchir.*, LB V, 43 F: “non ... vt congestis opibus inops custos incubaret, quemadmodum draconem vellus aureum seruasse poetae fabulantur”. For the comparison see Iuv. 14, 111-114; Erasmus, *Enarrat. in Ps.* 22, ASD V, 2, p. 366, ll. 235-237.
- 201 *noctes diesque* *Adag.* 324.
- 207-208 *At quisquis ... declarat* Cf. Otto 225-227; Arist. *Rhet.* II, 13, 8; Boeth. *Consol.* III, 3, 9; Erasmus, *Carm.* 96, 89; *De cop. verb.*, ASD I, 6, p. 160, l. 311 (borrowing from Sen. *Epist.* 2, 6): “Is pauper est qui plurimum cupit”; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 22, ASD V, 2, pp. 365-366, ll. 231-248.

- 209 *per fas nefasque* See the note to *Carm.* 96, 12 in *CWE* 86 / *ASD* I, 7.
- 210-211 *si fortuna ... Irus eris* Cf. *Ov. Trist.* III, 7, 41-42: “nempe dat id quodcumque libet fortuna rapitque, / Irus et est subito, qui modo Croesus erat”; Girolamo Balbi, *Carm.* 51, 9-10, in: Hieronymus Balbus, *Opera poetica, oratoria, ac politico-moralia*, ed. Josephus de Retzer, vol. I (Vienna, 1791), p. 166: “Quique Midam superas opibus Croesumque beatis / Pendula sors currum si rotet, Irus eris”. See also Otto 468 and 875; Erasmus, *Adag.* 574 and 576.
- 219 *rutila* Since the epithet occurs in a verse quoted from *Iuv.* 14, 299, it is pointless to connect it with the Rutulian warrior Tagus, as Dresden does.
- 223-226 *Turpissimum ... difficile* Cf. *Enchir.*, *LB* V, 59 C-D: “Quod nemo gentilium philosophorum non contempsit, hoc tu pauperis Christi discipulus et ad longe meliorem possessionem vocatus, vt magnum quiddam admiraberis?” Cf. also *LB* V, 40 E-41 B and 60 C.
- 231-235 *Nulla ... capit* Cf. *Cic. Cato* 13, 44: “diuine enim Plato ‘escam malorum’ appellat voluptatem quod ea videlicet homines capiantur vt pisces”; Erasmus, *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 251, ll. 5-9. See further *Adag.* 1473 and 1474; *Enchir.*, *LB* V, 14 A and 57 C; *De cop. verb.*, *ASD* I, 6, p. 216, ll. 502-503; *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 431, ll. 5-7; *Eccles.*, *ASD* V, 4, p. 410, l. 60.
- 235 *melle ... dissimulans* Cf. Otto 1083 and 1085; *Nachträge*, pp. 279-280; Erasmus, *Conc. de puero Iesu*, *LB* V, 607 E; *Coll.*, *ASD* I, 3, pp. 732-733, ll. 465-466; *Carm.* 30, 3.
- 255 *quidam* Erasmus alludes to the unknown author of *Disticha Catonis*. In IV, 17 of these moral distichs we read: “Si famam seruare cupis, dum viuus, honestam, / fac fugias animo quae sunt mala gaudia vitae”.
- 263-264 *Ducunt ... descendunt* A quotation from *Iob* 21, 13. Erasmus also quotes the verse in *Lingua*, *ASD* IV, 1A, p. 86, ll. 9-10, and *Conc. de Dei misericord.*, *LB* V, 573 C.
- 271-272 *At quid ... vide* For St. Jerome’s anti-matrimonial views see also *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 431, ll. 15-17.
- 272-273 *in aurem dicam* *Adag.* 247.

- 274 *capistro ora porrigere* By italicizing these words Dresden suggests that they are an exact quotation; but Iuv. 6, 43 reads: “stulta maritali iam porrigit ora capistro”. Cf. Alexander Hegius, *Carmina* (Deventer, 1503), sig. B2^r (the same poem from which Erasmus quotes some verses in ll. 714-715, below): “Hic ora porrigit capistro feminae”; Erasmus, *Carm.* 103, 13; *Enchir.*, LB V, 57 E; *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, p. 80, ll. 161-162; cf. *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 286, l. 318: “Vulgus coniugium capistrum vocat”.
- 286-288 *Vt enim ... assequare* Cf. Otto 764; Petrarch, *Secretum* III, p. 414: “Insanus profecto videatur, qui die medio per solis ardorem, vt vmbram cerneret ostenderetque aliis, cum labore discurret, atque nihilo sanior est, qui inter aestus vitae multo cum labore circumfertur, vt gloriam suam late diffundat”; Walther 32116c: “Vmbram dum sequens fugit, at sequitur fugientem, / Vmbra sit arbitrio gloria vana tuo”; Erasmus, *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 358, ll. 20-21: “Non est affectanda gloria forti viro, suapte virtute contento: sed haec benefacta non aliter quam vmbra corpus consequitur”.
- 295-296 *summam ... necesse est* Otto 871; cf. Erasmus, *De cop. verb.*, ASD I, 6, p. 262, l. 641; Ep. 658, ll. 5-6; 1451, ll. 69-70; *Adag.* 2001, ASD II, 5, pp. 24-27, ll. 14-116; *Carm.* 93, 165; 132, 23-24; also *Carm.* 2, 4-5; 110, 145-146.
- 300-301 *Difficillimum ... incidere* Cf. Otto 917; Erasmus, *Adag.* 51-53.
- 303 *perpetua anxietate* See note to l. 836, below.
- 312 *rerum amarissima mors* For the idea that death is the greatest of all afflictions see Arist. *Eth. Nic.* III, 6, 6, quoted in Erasmus, *De praep. ad mort.*, ASD V, 1, p. 339, l. 3 and alluded to in *Vidua christ.*, LB V, 723 F. Cf. Erasmus, *Euripides*, ASD I, 1, p. 348, l. 2021; *Carm.* 2, 171: “mors ..., malorum maxima”; *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 723, ll. 111-112; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 38, ASD V, 3, p. 239, l. 599: “mors ..., res omnium tristium tristissima”.
- 313 *insomniorum ... auolant* Cf. *Iob* 20, 8 (of the hypocrite): “Velut somnium auolans non inuenietur, Transiet sicut visio nocturna”; Erasmus, *Carm.* 2, 83-84 (the flight of

- youth): "Sic sic effugiunt tacitae vaga somnia noctis / Simul auolante somno". For the image cf. also, for example, Hier. *Epist.* 140, 9, expounding *Ps.* 89, 5-6; Walther 26677; 26683; Erasmus, *Carm.* 95, 101-102.
- 313-322 *Vbi prisca ... resideret* See E.-W. Kohls, "'Vbi sunt qui ante nos in mundo fuere?'" Zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte eines Vergänglichkeits-Topos und zu seinem Gebrauch bei Erasmus von Rotterdam", in: *Reformatio und Confessio: Festschrift für D. Wilhelm Maurer*, ed. F.W. Kantzenbach and G. Müller (Berlin, 1965), pp. 23-36; N. van der Blom, "Het Ubi sunt-motief bij Erasmus en Leopold's Laatste Wil van Alexander", *Hermeneus* 39 (1967-1968), pp. 23-29. Cf. in particular Boeth. *Consol.* II, m. 7, 15-20 (noted by Van der Blom, p. 25).
- 314 *magnus ... orbis* Cf. Sen. *Suas.* 1, 3: "Alexander orbi magnus est, Alexandro orbis angustus est"; Iuv. 10, 168-169: "vnus Pellaeo iuueni non sufficit orbis, / aestuat infelix angusto limite mundi"; Val. Max. VIII, 14, ext. 2; Walter of Châtillon, *Alexandreis* X, 8: "Qui nimis angustum terrarum dixerat orbem"; Erasmus, *Adag.* 201, *ASD* II, 1, p. 306, l. 60: "[Alexander Magnus] queritur hunc orbem suis victoriis angustum esse et Oceanum ingressus alios quaerit mundos, quos expugnet"; *Adag.* 1248, *LB* II, 500 C: "Et hoc est animal illud, quod tantos molitur tumultus, cuiusque cupiditatibus orbis hic angustus est"; Ep. 1400, ll. 290-292: "Alexander Magnus, vbi ventum esset ad Oceanum, desiderauit alterum orbem; videlicet, illius ambitioni mundus hic erat angustus". For the medieval image of Alexander the Great see George Cary, *The Medieval Alexander* (Cambridge, 1956).
- 316 *scopulos et montes rupit aceto* The quotation from Iuv. 10, 153 begins with "scopulos et", not with "montes", as Dresden makes it appear. Z here has the standard reading "montem"; but the plural form "montes" does occur in some manuscripts of Juvenal's poem. And when Erasmus writes "rupit" rather than "rumpit", he is following another manuscript tradition, reflected in the early editions.
- 318 *molestum ... ociosum* Cf. l. 808, below: "molesta, ociosa, imo pernicioza".

- 324-351 *Profecto si ... rexerit* Cf. *Orat. de pace*, LB VIII, 548 A-D, where an ancient Persian king, resurrected from the dead for this purpose, delivers himself of a moralizing speech on the subject of worldly riches.
- 327 *experimento doctior* Cf. Otto 613: “euentus, stultorum magister”; Otto 615; Erasmus, *Adag.* 28: “Sero sapiunt Phryges”; *Adag.* 30, “Factum stultus cognoscit”; *Adag.* 31, “Malo accepto stultus sapit”; *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 741, l. 22: “experientia, stultorum magistra”; *Liturg. Virg. Lauret.*, ASD V, 1, p. 102, ll. 178-179; *Eccles.*, ASD V, 4, p. 250, l. 90. Cf. further l. 348, below: “quod nos experti, sed sero intelligere coepimus”; l. 633, below: “Quod si experiri piget, certe expertis fidem habeant”.
- 336 *leui febricula* Ep. 74, l. 3: “Febricula leuis me pene occidit, sed quotidiana”; cf. Boeth. *Consol.* III, 8, 11: “Sed aestimate quam vultis nimio corporis bona, dum sciatis hoc quodcumque miramini triduanæ febris igniculo posse dissolui”; Walter of Châtillon, *Alexandreis* X, 446: “Ecce repentinae modicaeque occasio febris / Dissoluit toto quecumque parauimus euo”.
- 336-337 *spuma ... auras* Cf. *Sap.* 5, 15: “tanquam spuma gracilis quae a procella dispergitur, Et tanquam fumus qui a vento diffusus est”. For “fumus” cf. *Ps.* 67, 3: “Sicut deficit fumus, deficiant [inimici]”; 101, 4; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VII, 12, 60: “fumus et vmbra sumus”; Walther 32114a; Erasmus, *Enchir.*, LB V, 57 E: “quam sit haec vita fumo fugacior”; *Carm.* 83, 14; 95, 33; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 38, ASD V, 3, p. 216, ll. 700-702. For the phrase “fumus perit in auras” cf. Verg. *Aen.* V, 740: “et tenuis fugit ceu fumus in auras”; Andrelini, *Liui* I, 3, 13, ed. G. Tournoy-Thoen (Brussels, 1982): “forma perit, / Vtque leuis tenues vanescit fumus in auras”.
- 338 *totus perhorruit orbis* Cf. Ov. *Met.* I, 203.
- 338 *ab* This preposition is part of Vergil’s text and should have been italicized.
- 339-341 *Quondam ... coherceor* Cf. Iuv. 10, 168-172; Fulgentius, *De aetatibus mundi et hominis* X, 40: “Et quia mundum peragrandō paruum sibi esse credidit, ideo tribus contentus sepulchri cubitis obdormiit”; Petrus Alphonsus, *Disciplina clericalis*, PL 157, 705 D: “Heri totus ei non

- sufficiebat mundus, hodie quatuor solae sufficiunt ei vlnae"; Dionysius Cartusianus, *De quatuor hominis nouissimis*, in: *Opera omnia*, XLI (Tournai, 1912), chapter 14, pointing to Petrus Alphonsus: "Heri totius terrae spatiositas Alexandro non suffecit, nunc sufficit ipsi spatium trium vel quatuor vlnarum"; Walter of Châtillon, *Alexandreis* X, 448-450: "cui non suffecerat orbis, / Sufficit exciso defossa marmore terra / Quinque pedum fabricata domus"; Pseudo-Neckam, *De vita monachorum*, in: *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the Twelfth Century*, ed. Thomas Wright (London, 1872), II, p. 193: "Magnus erat quidem [Caesar] totoque potentior orbe, / Nunc quem sic mundus ceperat vrna capit. / Sic et Alexander fortissimus ille Macedo, / Clauditur angusto puluis et ossa loco. / Maior erat mundo magnus, modo nobile corpus / Exulis et victi vilis arena tegit".
- 341-342 *Mors ... corpuscula* Dresden and Rummel rightly point to Iuv. 10, 172-173, but do not mention that the preceding verses discuss the vain ambitions of Alexander the Great.
- 342 *adorato amiculo* In note 21 to *CWE* 66, p. 146, Rummel accepts the reading "odorato" in *D* and translates: "I was renowned for my perfumed cloak". But "adorato", the reading in *Z* and *A-C*, makes better sense, in my opinion. It refers to the divine honors paid to Alexander; cf. Sen. *Suas.* 1, 2; Amm. Marc. XXI, 9, 8: "adorandae purpurae". In view of the context, Rummel's understanding of "amiculo" as "cloak" is to be preferred to Dresden's interpretation of it as "dear friend". See Jozef IJsewijn, in: *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 31 (1982), p. 217.
- 344-345 *stemmata ... auro picta monumenta ... operosa pyramidum fabrica* Cf. Ep. 104, ll. 15-16: "stemmata et aureas statuas ... et operosas pyramides".
- 343 *nuda ossa* Ov. *Am.* II, 9, 13-14; *Fast.* II, 376.
- 346 *multo acerbior mors* The "mors secunda" mentioned in *Apoc.* 2, 11; 20, 6; 20, 14; 21, 8. See also Erasmus, *De praep. ad mort.*, ASD V, 1, p. 354, ll. 330-331.
- 348 *sero intelligere coepimus* Cf. Otto 1410; Erasmus, *Adag.* 28; *Carm.* 2, 172-173; *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 227, l. 18; *Adag.* 1474, *LB* II, 574 B; *Enchir.*, *LB* V, 57 F.

- 349-350 *sibi magis imperare quam aliis* Cf. Otto 1514.
- 351 *Magnus ... rexerit* Cf. Cic. *Fin.* III, 22, 75 (of the Stoic wiseman): “Rectius enim appellabitur rex quam Tarquinius qui nec se nec suos regere potuit”; Sen. *Epist.* 37, 4: “multos reges, si ratio te rexerit”; Otto 1537; Erasmus, *Enchir.*, LB V, 13 D-14 E; *Adag.* 3, ASD II, 1, p. 114, ll. 291-295; *Apophth.*, LB IV, 96 E; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 85, ASD V, 3, p. 412, l. 260: “Rex eris, inquit ethnicus quidam, si te ratio rexerit”.
- 355 *luce ... clariore* Otto 999; Erasmus, Ep. 20, l. 47.
- 358-359 *quum nihil ... ab animo* Erasmus varies the proverbial “out of sight, out of mind” (Otto 1271) by saying: “in sight, yet out of mind”.
- 359-361 *Quid, quod ... commoneant* Cf. *De praep. ad mort.*, ASD V, 1, p. 362, ll. 559-560: “Quid quod, quoties nominatur homo, mortis admonetur? Idem enim nobis declarant, mortales et homines”. Cf. also *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 442, ll. 17-18; *Parab.*, ASD I, 5, p. 190, l. 496-497.
- 362-364 *Itane ... meminerimus* Cf. *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 435, l. 31-p. 436, l. 1: “Quis tantum obliuionis ex illo Lethaeo flumine bibit vnquam, vt nullo natalis terrae, amicorum, vxoris, liberorum desiderio teneretur?”; *Carm.* 64, 62-64: “Nuncubi somniferae gustasti flumina Lethes, / Qui dulcis patriae terraeque altricis alumnus / Non meminisse potes?”
- 363 *amne letheo (vt aiunt) obliuionis* Cf. Otto 943. Since the words “amne letheo” are not an exact quotation from Verg. *Aen.* VI, 705, they should not have been italicized in ASD.
- 369 *rapidissimi in morem amnis* For the metaphor see, for example, Ov. *Ars* III, 62; *Met.* XV, 179-184; Erasmus, *Enarrat. in Ps.* 38, ASD V, 3, p. 216, ll. 702-703; *De praep. ad mort.*, ASD V, 1, p. 342, ll. 67-68; *Carm.* 2, 79-80; 95, 26.
- 371 *Mixta ... funera* Cf. *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 443, ll. 3-4 (alluding to Hor. *Carm.* I, 28, 19): “inter tam densa senum ac iuuenum funera”. The line, which continues the quotation from Horace, should have been italicized. See Hor. *Carm.* I, 28, 19, where modern editors write “ac”

- and "densentur". The readings "et" and "densantur" reflect the manuscript or early printed text used by Erasmus.
- 376-400 *Quid tu ... vita hominum* The passage was inspired primarily by Petrarch, *Rem.* I, 1; cf. also *Rem.* I, 2; Erasmus, *De praep. ad mort.*, ASD V, 1, p. 358, ll. 454-457; *Carm.* 95, 69-74.
- 376 *Aetas integra est* Quoted from Petrarch, *Rem.* I, 1, p. 7.
- 377 *canis albescat caput* Cf. Ov. *Her.* 13, 161-162; *Met.* III, 516.
- 377 *seniles rugae* Cf. Ov. *Fast.* V, 58.
- 378 *annis ... graues* Verg. *Aen.* IX, 246; Hor. *Serm.* I, 1, 4; Erasmus, *Carm.* 1, 9.
- 378 *senio incurui, terram salutant* Cf. Sedulius, *Paschale carmen* III, 200: "senio ... incurua"; Maximianus, *Elegiae* 1, 217-218: "prona senectus / terram, qua genita est et reditura, videt"; Petrarch, *Rem.* II, 83, p. 199: "Dolor: Senui incuruatusque sum. Ratio: Iam iam terram aspice, vnde venis et quo pergis cogita...".
- 379-380 *iam leue caput, ... nasus perpetuo madens* Cf. Iuv. 10, 199.
- 379 *malae pendulae* Cf. Iuv. 10, 193.
- 380 *dentes ... luridi* Hor. *Carm.* IV, 13, 10-11.
- 380 *cornice viuaciores* Otto 434; Erasmus, *Adag.* 564; cf. *Carm.* 2, 41-42.
- 380-381 *dextra suos annos computant* Cf. Iuv. 10, 249; Erasmus, *Carm.* 102, 47.
- 382-383 *corpus vegetum ... et succi plenum* Cf. Ter. *Eun.* 318.
- 385-398 *Sin illa ... mortalium* Closely paralleled in *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 449, l. 11-p. 450, l. 6 (especially p. 450, ll. 1-6, where "senectae limen" means age sixty); cf. also *Eccles.*, ASD V, 5, p. 48, l. 874; *Carm.* 95, 89-94; Cic. *Cato* 19, 67-68.
- 387 *infantes .. vberibus* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI, 428-429.
- 391 *mors certa ... vita incerta* A variation on the proverbial "Mors certa, hora incerta"; see, for instance, Walther 15117; 15123; 15133; Bernardus, *Sermo de conuersione ad clericos*, PL 182, 843 B; Petrarch, *Secretum* I, p. 380; III, p. 409; Erasmus, *Enarrat. in Ps.* 85, ASD V, 3, p. 363, l. 934; *Conc. de Dei misericord.*, LB V, 569 F.

- 391-393 *Nemo tam senex ... polliceri* For the first half of this statement cf. Cic. *Cato* 7, 24: “nemo ... est tam senex qui se annum non putet posse viuere”; Sen. *Epist.* 12, 6: “nemo tam senex est, vt inprobe vnum diem speret”. For the second half of the statement cf. Cic. *Cato* 19, 67 (quoted in the note to ll. 392-398, below); Sen. *Thy.* 619-620: “Nemo tam diuos habuit fauentes / crastinum vt posset sibi polliceri”; Erasmus, *Enarrat. in Ps.* 2, ASD V, 2, p. 155, ll. 853-854: “Nemo tam iuuenis est ..., vt possit sibi crastinum polliceri”. The two statements are combined in Petrarch, *Rem.* I, 110, p. 111: “sane nemo tam senex, qui non possit annum viuere, nemo tam iuuenis qui non possit hodie mori”; II, 83, p. 201: “nemo tam iuuenis qui non possit hodie mori, nemo tam senex qui non possit annum viuere”.
- 392-398 *nemo tam iuuenis ... videat annum* Cf. Cic. *Cato* 19, 67: “Quamquam quis est tam stultus, quamuis sit adulescens, cui sit exploratum se ad vesperum esse victurum? Quin etiam aetas illa multo pluris quam nostra casus mortis habet Itaque pauci veniunt ad senectutem”.
- 411-413 *Mille morborum ... soluit* Cf. *Carm.* 95, 73-84.
- 411 *Mille morborum ... casus* Cf. *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 428, l. 32.
- 412 *mille modi leti* Cf. Stat. *Theb.* IX, 280 (also quoted in Erasmus, *Orat. de pace*, LB VIII, 550 E and *De praep. ad mort.*, ASD V, 1, p. 348, l. 182): “mille modis leti miseros mors vna fatigat”.
- 412 *mortis laquei* Hor. *Carm.* III, 24, 8: “mortis laqueis”; *Ps.* 17, 6; *Prv.* 21, 6; Erasmus, *Antibarb.*, ASD I, 1, p. 97, l. 30-p. 98, l. 1. For the image cf. *Carm.* 95, 82; *Enchir.*, LB V, 57 E.
- 414-415 *quae sit socordia ... morituri* This inverts a well-known sententia: “Sic viue tanquam cras moriturus, sic stude quasi semper victurus”. Cf. Walther 5826, 5879, 5890, 5959a, 12510, 29540, 29544, 29558, 33935, and 33936. The thought goes back to an epigram by Lucian in *Anth. Pal.* X, 26, 1-2. Cf. Erasmus, *Antibarb.*, ASD I, 1, p. 98, ll. 17-18; *De praep. ad mort.*, ASD V, 1, p. 364, ll. 594-596.
- 415 *Aliena curamus* For the phrase cf. Ter. *Heaut.* 76; for the

- commonplace see, for example, Arist. *Rhet.* I, 5, 4; Sen. *Epist.* 1, 3: "Omnia ... aliena sunt, tempus tantum nostrum est"; Publil. Syr. 1 (quoted in Sen. *Epist.* 8, 9): "Alienum est omne quicquid optando euenit"; Erasmus, Ep. 104, 2: "aliena, quippe fortunae munera"; *Enchir.*, LB V, 60 C-D.
- 423-424 *mors ... mille modis insidias struit* Cf. note to l. 412, above ("mortis laquei"); Prosper, *Ad vxorem* 26: "mille modis miseros mors rapit vna homines"; Erasmus, *Enchir.*, LB V, 56 D: "Cogita ... quam vndique imminens [sit] insidiosa mors"; LB V, 57 E: "Perpende ... quot laqueos nobis struat mors, nullo non loco, nullo non tempore insidians"; *De praep. ad mort.*, ASD V, 1, p. 362, l. 553; *Carm.* 95, 82.
- 425 *curamus cutem* Cf. Otto 494; Erasmus, *Adag.* 1375; Ep. 61, l. 63; Ep. 87, ll. 18-19; *Antibarb.*, ASD I, 1, p. 131, l. 6; *Enchir.*, LB V, 2 B; *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, p. 84, l. 244; *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 45, ll. 407-408; p. 46, l. 444; p. 90, l. 402; p. 91, l. 439; p. 196, l. 2297; p. 197, l. 2351.
- 425 *ambimus magistratus* Plaut. *Am.* 74.
- 425-429 *Quod si ... sordescerent* Cf. *Carm.* 108, 5-10.
- 437 *mors in foribus* Cf. Walther 15199: "Mors sedet ante fores"; 15132: "Mors est ante fores: dico tibi, corrige mores"; 15203; Erasmus, *Enarrat. in Ps.* 85, ASD V, 3, p. 363, ll. 934-935 (of death): "In foribus esse credamus quod omni momento potest accidere".
- 442 *exangues artus* Cf. Cic. *Verr.* II, 5, 130; Verg. *Aen.* II, 542; Ov. *Met.* II, 647; V, 136; *Pont.* III, 2, 31.
- 442-443 *vna et sanguinis calor et vita fugiet* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* II, 532 and Ov. *Met.* II, 610; Ov. *Met.* VI, 253; XI, 327; *Ilias Latina* 515.
- 452 *sua cuique senecta mors est* For the idea that old age is a living death see the note to *Carm.* 2, 29 in *CWE* 86 / ASD I, 7.
- 453-454 *rosae in modum, ... pollice decisa* Cf. Martial. X, 93, 5: "vt rosa ..., metitur quae pollice primo".
- 458-459 *[amici] vt hirundines exacta aestate ... deuolarunt* For the sentiment see Cic. *Lael.* 17, 64; *Rhet. Her.* IV, 17, 24; Otto 93; Erasmus, *Adag.* 1781 and 2404; cf. *Adag.* 3405;

- Ep. 2, 4-18. For the comparison of fair-weather friends with swallows see *Rhet. Her.* IV, 48, 61; Erasmus, *Adag.* 2.xxi, *ASD* II, 1, p. 106, ll. 130-132; *Adag.* 1781, *ASD* II, 4, p. 202, ll. 138-140; *Encom. medic.*, *ASD* I, 4, p. 180, ll. 307-310; *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 421, ll. 11-12; *Parab.*, *ASD* I, 5, p. 292, ll. 136-137.
- 466-467 *Virtus ... desinit* Cf. *Carm.* 93, 31-32: "Nunquam ... rodere desinit, / Nunquam carpere desinit"; *Confl. Thal. et Barbar.*, *LB* I, 890 E: "Nunquam inuidere nobis, nunquam lacerare desinit".
- 473-477 *Quotquot ... vidimus* This refers to the factional wars between the Hoeken and Kabeljauwen that flared up again in 1477-1483 and 1488-1492. See J.-B. Pineau, *Erasmus, sa pensée religieuse* (Paris, 1924), p. 33, note 5; A. Hyma, *The Youth of Erasmus* (Ann Arbor, 1930), pp. 15-18 and 176; also J. IJsewijn, "Zur Interpretation von Erasmus, 'De Contemptu Mundi', cap. VII", *Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen* 12 (1988), pp. 62-64; and Vredevel, pp. 758-759. Once the historical background is taken into account, the misunderstandings in *CWE* 66, p. 150, can be easily taken care of: "factiones" refers not to "rebellions" but to the factions then warring in Holland; "caritates" means "high prices", not "poverty"; and "sterilitates" refers to "crop failures", not to "childlessness".
- 475 *quid non vidimus nostro aevo mali* Cf. *Orat. de pace*, *LB* VIII, 550 C: "Ipsi proh! nostra aetate satis superque didicimus, haec nocentissima furia quid quantumue pariat mali".
- 475-476 *Iam quartum et vigesimum annum agimus* A marginal note in the Zwolle manuscript (copied in 1513 or shortly thereafter) says that the phrase refers to Erasmus' age: "etas auctoris". The passage is, indeed, the earliest reference to the humanist's age and, hence, to his year of birth (1466). See Vredevel, pp. 757-763. Erasmus uses the first person plural in "vidimus" because he and his "cousin" are about the same age; see p. 40, l. 5.
- 476-477 *bellorum strepitu* *Liv.* IV, 1, 5; cf. Erasmus, *Carm.* 94, 69.

- 477 *ferias* A holiday from war; cf. Hor. *Carm.* IV, 5, 37. Erasmus uses the word also in *Carm.* 50, 95 (with reference to the civil wars in Holland) and *Carm.* 4, 57-58 (the Wars of the Roses in England).
- 477 *Syllana* .. *tempora* Cf. Otto 1710. For the phrase see Plin. *Nat.* IX, 35, 123; Cic. *Parad.* 6, 46.
- 479 *Penuriae* Also lamented in *Orat. de pace*, LB VIII, 550 E: "In vrbibus praeterea ... victus magna penuria".
- 483-484 *Scelerum* ... *seges* Prud. *Amartigenia* 258 (of the hunger for gold): "inde seges scelerum, radix et sola malorum".
- 484 *ferream* ... *aetatem* Iuv. 6, 23.
- 488 *fugere* A common reading in manuscripts and editions (also modern ones) of Ov. *Met.* I, 129; hence it should have been italicized in ASD.
- 489 *dolique* Though part of Ovid's text in Renaissance and modern editions, "dolique" is not italicized in Dresden's text.
- 494 *Nona* This word ought to have been italicized, since it is the standard reading in Iuv. 13, 28, also in modern editions.
- 501 *numero* Since it frequently occurs in manuscripts and early editions of Iuv. 13, 26, this word should have been italicized.
- 509-549 *Permagni* ... *emendatiorem* For the sentiment cf. Otto 1148; Erasmus, *Adag.* 973 and 974 (quoting inter alia Sen. *De ira* III, 8, 1-3, with close parallels); *De pueris*, ASD I, 2, p. 36, l. 32-p. 37, l. 6; *Carm.* 49, 84-85.
- 510-511 *Non aliter* ... *morbi* Cf. *Adag.* 973, LB II, 388 B: "cum corporis, tum maxime animi vitia contagio serpunt in vicinum"; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 38, ASD V, 3, p. 198, l. 12: "contagio serpit lues".
- 513-514 *sumus natura in vitia procliues* Cf. Eucherius, *Epistola paraenetica*, PL 50, 713 D: "Caro ... procliuis in vitia"; Erasmus, Ep. 26, ll. 70-71: "omnes in errorem nostrapte natura procliues sumus"; *Mod. orandi Deum*, ASD V, 1, p. 173, ll. 835-836: "hominum natura procliuis sit ad malum".
- 514 *sua venena afflabit* Cf. *Carm.* 50, 50: "Virus efflabat"; Ep. 61, l. 212: "virus efflabat".
- 514 *suam tibi adfricabit scabiem* Cf. *Adag.* 973, LB II, 388 C: "Morum autem scabiem affricat conuictori".

- 516 *Concoloribus ... volitant* Cf. *Sir.* 27, 10; Otto 1335; Erasmus, *Adag.* 120-124. As Dresden suggests, it seems likely that the English proverb "Birds of a feather flock together" has its origin in the present passage, via Paynell's translation "Birdes of one colour flye togyder" (p. 80). Paynell's version of 1533 was expanded in W. Turner, *Rescuing of the Romish Fox* (1545) to "Byrdes of on kynde and color flok and flye allwayes to gether". In G. Whetstone, *Promos and Cassandra* (1578) this version became: "Byrds of a fether, best flye together". See *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs*, revised by F.P. Wilson (Oxford, 1970³), p. 60 (without reference to Paynell or Erasmus).
- 530 *marmoreus* Cf. *Carm.* 43, 77: "O bis marmoreum pectus".
- 530 *lasciui ... motus* Marcantonio Sabellico, *In natalem diem diuae virginis Mariae* (Deventer, R. Pafraet, 1490), poem 3, sig. a4^r: "lasciui motus risusue procaces"; Erasmus, *Lucianus*, ASD I, 1, p. 382, l. 25: "lasciuo corporis motu saltitare".
- 530-531 *agitataque in numerum brachia* Cf. *Carm.* 102, 65: "in numeros agitabat brachia".
- 533 *hernia* Modern editions of *Iuv.* 6, 326 do have "hirnea", as Dresden says; but "hernea" is a common spelling in manuscripts and early printed texts. There is no reason not to italicize the word.
- 543-546 *solet morbi ... puto* See *Adag.* 179: "Ex aspectu nascitur amor"; cf. *Carm.* 100, 5; 102, 67.
- 545 *oculi laesos* Erasmus' version of this quoted phrase is a common variant reading of *Ov. Rem.* 615 (for "laesos oculi"). He cites it in this form also in *Adag.* 973.
- 571-576 *Nunc igitur ... aduola* Erasmus is imitating (and, in part, quoting) *Cic. Att.* II, 23, 3: "Quam ob rem, si me amas tantum quantum profecto amas, si dormis expergiscere, si stas ingredere, si ingrederis curre, si curris aduola". He quotes Cicero's words also in *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 355, ll. 4-5, as a model of exhortation.
- 574 *Babylone* Cf. *Precat. ad Iesum*, LB V, 1212 A; *Enchir.*, LB V, 22 C.
- 592-594 *Non tibi Dedaleis ... insiliendum* Erasmus is alluding, first, to Daedalus' feat of escaping Crete on artificial

- wings and flying across the Mediterranean Sea (“vasta traicienda aequora”); and second, to Hercules’ labors, which ended with his ascending the pyre on Mt. Oeta (“ignibus insiliendum”).
- 632 *Moriar si quid fefellerō* Cf. Ov. *Met.* I, 771-772.
- 633 *expertis fidem habeant* Proverbial; see Otto 615; cf. l. 327 (with note), above.
- 641 *mos gerundus est illorum tarditati* Cf. Petrarch, *Secretum* I, p. 374: “Tarditati tuae mos gerundus est”.
- 675-676 *nihil nobis ... quicquid libet* Proverbial; see Otto 949. Erasmus refers to the proverb again in l. 1183, below (condemning this monastic attitude).
- 684-699 *Iam tibi ... potest* The model is Pers. 5, 124-137, also used in Erasmus, *Adag.* 1246.
- 684-685 *Iam tibi ... parendum est* Cf. Walther 26227b: “Quot vitiis premeris, tot seruus eris dominorum”; Erasmus, *Adag.* 1246: “Nullum ocium seruis”; *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, p. 104, ll. 604-607.
- 685-686 *Quis enim ... potis est* Cf. *Apophth.*, LB IV, 96 E: “Intellexit neminem esse liberum qui seruiret cupiditatibus”.
- 688-689 *imperiosa ... libido; iubet* Cf. Pseudo-Neckam, *De vita monachorum*, in: *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the Twelfth Century*, ed. Thomas Wright (London, 1872), II, p. 189: “iubet imperiosa libido”.
- 697 *terra marique* Otto 1762; Erasmus, *Adag.* 325; cf. *Adag.* 3926.
- 700 *ociosam* Cf. l. 318, above: “singulos recensere et molestum esset et prope ociosum”; l. 808, below: “molesta, ociosa, imo pernicioza”. For the reading “odiosam” in Z and C, which also makes good sense, cf. Plaut. *Merc.* 608: “Odiosast oratio, cum rem agas longinquom loqui”.
- 710 *pistrino ... dedunt* Cf. Ter. *Andr.* 199: “verberibus caesum te in pistrinum ... dedam”; Otto 1432.
- 739-740 *decorum ... excepiisse* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* III, 2, 13.
- 769 *fumantia tecta* Cf. *Carm.* 6, 6 (contrasted with the solitude in the country): “fumida tecta”; *De rat. stud.*, ASD I, 2, p. 127, l. 8: “Musae fontibus ac nemoribus vnice gaudent, a fumosis vrbibus abhorrent”; *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 221, ll. 3-4 and p. 231, ll. 3-4: “Quum omnia nunc vernent ac

- rideant in agris, demiror esse, qui fumosis vrbibus delectentur”.
- 769-770 *deserta virentia incolentibus manna depluit* Understood in CWE 66, p. 160 as: “Life-giving manna rained from heaven ... on the dwellers in the desert”. However, the epithet “virentia” is a plural form; it cannot modify the singular “manna”, nor can it mean “life-giving”. I should add that the “deserta” referred to here are not the arid deserts that we tend to think of (the Israelites could not have survived forty years in such a place) but an uninhabited wilderness that could be used as pasture land. Paynell (p. 115) rightly translates “deserta virentia” as “the flouryshynge wyldernesse”.
- 777 *digito monstrare* Cf. Otto 549; Erasmus, *Adag.* 943.
- 788 *clamosa theatra* Stat. *Silv.* III, 5, 16.
- 792-795 *Poetae ... oportere* Cf. Hor. *Epist.* II, 2, 77.
- 793 *diuinus ille furor* The “divine frenzy” of the poets. See Curtius, pp. 474-475; and, for example, Plat. *Phaedr.* 245 a; Cic. *Div.* I, 31, 66; *De or.* II, 46, 194; Stat. *Silv.* II, 7, 76; Erasmus, *Carm.* 6, 4; 120, 15; Ep. 948, ll. 50-55; *Adag.* 2154, ASD II, 5, p. 136, ll. 758-759.
- 810 *potes* This word — part of Ov. *Rem.* 580 — should have been italicized in ASD.
- 826-828 *Quanquam ... migrare* Cf. *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, p. 100, ll. 528-530.
- 836 *perpetua anxietate* Iuv. 13, 211 (cited in l. 877, below); cf. also ll. 129 and 303, above; *Enchir.*, LB V, 56 D.
- 838 *scelerum facies* Verg. *Georg.* I, 506 and *Aen.* VI, 560.
- 853 *quantum eis malitiae tantum sit et fortunae* Proverbial; see Walther 5122: “De quanto nequam peior, tanto sors sibi maior”; 9901: “Fortunator est tanto, quo nequior exstat”; 23609; 23611; 25674; 25698b: “Quo quis nequior, hoc fortunator”; 25699: “Quo quisquam est peior, tanto felicior exstat”.
- 864-867 *Quapropter ... iudicauerunt* Cf. *Enchir.*, LB V, 56 C-D.
- 871 *quatiens* Since this form is found in some manuscripts of Iuv. 13, 195, it ought to have been italicized here.
- 883-888 *Quid enim ... possit* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* IV, 471-473; also *Aen.* III, 331: “scelerum furiis agitatus Orestes”. Cf. Erasmus,

- Moria*, ASD IV, 3, p. 118, l. 877, also explicitly referring to the “dirae vltrices”: “nocentem et conscium animum furiis ac terriculorum facibus agunt”; *Adag.* 991; *Lingua*, ASD IV, 1A, p. 76, ll. 655-656; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 85, ASD V, 3, p. 398, ll. 860-861; *Carm.* 119, 15-16.
- 938 *vitae nostrae ratio* Ep. 30, l. 3: “Solitudinem ... vitae nostrae ratio poscit”.
- 952-953 *quanto cum foenore* Cf. *Carm.* 54, 8; 113, 10. For the image see, e.g., Cic. *Cato* 15, 51; Tib. II, 6, 22.
- 971-972 *fastidii plenae, plus aloes quam mellis habentes* Cf. *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 431, ll. 2-4: “Est ... [voluptas] pecuina prorsus, plena fastidii, plus aloes quam mellis habens”. The expression “plus aloes quam mellis habet”, taken from Iuv. 6, 181, recurs in Erasmus’ writings. See *Enchir.*, LB V, 57 A; *Adag.* 766; *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 251, l. 7; *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 725, ll. 196-197; *Eccles.*, ASD V, 5, p. 48, ll. 868-869; *De praep. ad mort.*, ASD V, 1, p. 352, ll. 307-308. Cf. Otto 1083.
- 980-1017 *Deinde coelestium ... gustarunt* Cf. *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, pp. 192-194, ll. 248-267; *Conc. de puero Iesu*, LB V, 608 D: “Adde his gustum quemdam felicitatis futurae, quem piaementes subinde percipiunt”.
- 985 *ex hoc corpusculo euolare* Cf. Cic. *Rep.* VI, 14, 14: “e corporum vinculis tamquam e carcere euolauerunt”; Erasmus, Ep. 61, l. 15: “tanquam e vinculis euolare” (of the soul escaping the body in dreams); *Enarrat. in Ps.* 38, ASD V, 3, p. 171, l. 15, in similar context; *De sarc. eccles. concord.*, ASD V, 3, p. 287, ll. 9-10; *Modus orandi Deum*, ASD V, 1, p. 122, ll. 53-54. For the pejorative “corpusculo” see, for example, Iuv. 10, 172-173; Sen. *Epist.* 23, 6; 24, 16; *Dial.* XII, 11, 7; Erasmus, *Carm.* 71, 16; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 4, ASD V, 2, p. 274, ll. 612-613; *De sarc. eccles. concord.*, ASD V, 3, p. 280, ll. 800-801; *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 551, l. 486; *De praep. ad mort.*, ASD V, 1, p. 344, ll. 100-101.
- 994-996 *tantae certe ... videatur* Cf. *Carm.* 108, 9-10.
- 1034 *tanta hilaritate supremum vale dicere* The clause is meant to contrast with Ov. *Met.* VI, 509-510: “supremumque vale pleno singultibus ore / vix dixit”.

- 1034-1035 *supremum vale dicere, ... suprema diuidere oscula* Cf. *Vidua christ.*, *LB* V, 725 D (as gestures of pious love toward the dead): “*dedisse nouissimum osculum, dixisse vale aeternum*”. Here the gestures indicate that the young people entering the monastery are henceforth dead to the world.
- 1034-1035 *suprema ... oscula* *Ov. Met.* VI, 278; *Fast.* IV, 851.
- 1064 *Frustra, nam* *Hor. Carm.* III, 7, 21; III, 13, 6; Erasmus, *Carm.* 103, 19.
- 1097-1100 *Si veritas ... ponitur* Cf. *Antibarb.*, *ASD* I, 1, p. 124, l. 19-p. 125, l. 2; *Carm.* 93, 61-64.
- 1099-1100 *christianum Ciceronem* In *Ep.* 49, ll. 100-101 Erasmus attributes the phrase to Rodolphus Agricola; he uses it also in *Ep.* 3043, ll. 50-51, but without attribution. Cf. also *Antibarb.*, *ASD* I, 1, p. 124, ll. 22-23 (imitating *Hier. Epist.* 58, 10).
- 1108-1120 *Inter haec ... licet* For the traditional image of the monastery as a “garden of delights” see R. Bultot, “*Erasme, Epicure et le ‘De contemptu mundi’*”, in: *Scrinium Erasmianum*, ed. Joseph Coppens, II (Leiden, 1969), pp. 220-225; Erasmus, *Ep.* 447, ll. 257-260 and 309-318.
- 1111 *laeto gramine* *Verg. Georg.* II, 525.
- 1111-1112 *quam blanda ... gramina* Cf. *Ov. Fast.* IV, 430: “*pictaque dissimili flore nitebat humus*”.
- 1155 *induere talaria* *Adag.* 142.
- 1183 *liceat quicquid libet* Cf. ll. 675-676 (with note), above. There this attitude has only positive connotations.
- 1231 *qui crepant* Rummel (p. 175) translates: “who repent”. But “crepant” (like the preceding “amant” and the following “exprimunt”) has as its object the virtues of truth, chastity, sobriety, and modesty. Cf. *Enchir.*, *LB* V, 51 B: “*quod sentis, non tam saevis intonandum verbis, quam moribus exprimendum*”; *Conc. de puero Iesu*, *LB* V, 610 A: “*Hunc penitus sapiamus, hunc loquamur, hunc moribus exprimamus*”; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 1, *ASD* V, 2, p. 66, ll. 2-3: “*Qui penitus hoc amat quod docet, ... qui moribus exprimit quod praecipit*”. As these examples show, “crepant” in the present passage must refer to “speaking”. For this

- unusual sense cf. Ep. 37, l. 2: "nil nisi agros pecuniamque crepares". Paynell (p. 176) therefore correctly translates: "do bothe in worde and dede expresse the same [virtues]".
- 1231 *moribus exprimunt* A recurrent theme in Erasmus' mature writings. Besides the examples quoted above, see *Enchir.*, LB, V, 39 C: "Quidquid ... persuasione penitus inhaesit animo, id quisque moribus exprimit"; *Conc. de puero Iesu*, LB V, 607 A: "Hoc magis illum [sc. Christum] redamabimus, quo magis vita ac moribus exprimemus"; *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, p. 134, ll. 168-169, where Folly says: "Ego me tum religiosissime coli puto, cum passim ... animo complectuntur, moribus exprimunt, vita repraesentant"; *Coll.*, ASD I, 3, p. 606, l. 96: "Nemo penitus amat, nisi qui moribus exprimit Euangelium".
- 1234-1235 *si candidam vestem ... incontaminatam* In the "Ordo Baptismi" of the *Rituale Romanum* (quoted according to ASD V, 1, p. 373, note to l. 800), the priest tells the neophyte who has just been baptized: "Accipe vestem candidam, quam perferas immaculatam ante tribunal Domini nostri Iesu Christi, vt habeas vitam aeternam". Cf. Erasmus, *De praep. ad mort.*, ASD V, 1, p. 372, ll. 799-801: "Caeterum, quotus quisque nostrum est, qui vestem candidam gratis in baptismo datam non multis modis inquinarit?"

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SOLET INSTEAD OF SOLEBAT IN ERASMUS AND
OTHER NEO-LATIN AUTHORS

When reading Erasmus we repeatedly come across “solet/solent” meaning “solebat/solebant”. In the new critical edition of Erasmus’ *Opera omnia* (Amsterdam, 1969 -; hereafter ASD) this phenomenon was commented upon for the first time by J.H. Waszink in his edition of the *Lingua* (ASD IV, 1A, published in 1989). Waszink considered it an idiosyncrasy of Erasmus’ style (“une particularité assez étrange du style d’Erasme”, p. 63, n.l. 170).

In his edition of Books I-II of the *Ecclesiastes*, which appeared in 1991, Jacques Chomarat pointed to the same peculiarity, restricting himself to a reference to Waszink’s commentary (vid. ASD V, 4, p. 73, n.l. 810-811). Both Waszink and Chomarat respected Erasmus’ wording and did not emend the main text.

We have every reason to believe that Erasmus himself considered this use of “solet” as something quite normal. Should it have been otherwise, he would have corrected it in a new edition, as he usually does when he is not pleased with what he wrote. As far as I know, Erasmus never feels bound to replace “solet” by “solebat” when meaning the imperfect tense. Strangely enough, even the contrary seems to be the case, at least if we judge by the critical apparatus of the *Modus orandi* in ASD V, 1 (1977), ed. J. N. Bakhuizen van den Brink. The editor based his text on the ed. Basel, March 1525 (called B), which is enlarged by almost a fifth as compared to the ed. princeps of October 1524 (called A). On p. 167, l. 629-630 we read: “...velut eiaculatae praecatiunculae, quae solent olim monachis apud Aegyptios opus manuum interrompere...”. The apparatus has “solent B: solebant A”, suggesting that Erasmus substituted his original (and “correct”) “solebant” by “solent”, which would be hardly conceivable. In fact, the apparatus is inaccurate. Both A and B (copies at the Gemeentebibliotheek Rotterdam, vid. resp. fol. e8^v and fol. f6^r) have the reading “solent”, just as the other contemporary

editions have (Strasbourg, Dec. 1524; Neurenberg, Febr. 1525; Strasbourg, March 1525; Antwerp, 1525; copies at Rotterdam). The Basel 1540-edition of the *Opera omnia* (tom. V, p. 941) has “solent”, as well as the Maire-edition, Leiden, 1641, p. 129. It is only in the Clericus-edition of the *Opera omnia* (hereafter LB), that we find “solebant” (tom. V, Leiden, 1704, col. 1129 A). This form must have crept into the apparatus of ASD from LB, probably because the editor (like various other editors) made a first draft of the Latin text on the basis of LB.

In this passage of the *Modus orandi*, Clericus was the first editor to change “solent” into “solebant”, and he made the same correction elsewhere. Apparently he did so on his own initiative because he felt the former to be incorrect, not because the change was supported by the textual tradition. While Clericus did not comment upon the aspect of Erasmus’ style under discussion, Jortin, I suppose, was the first author who did. In his *Life of Erasmus* (first ed. 1758-1760; vid. second ed. 1808, tom. III, p. 232, note) he remarks with respect to a “solet” meaning “solebat”: “I have often observed in Erasmus this way of using the present tense, where the praeter-imperfect would be more proper”. Jortin made this observation with respect to a passage in Erasmus’ preface to his edition of St. Jerome, Fribourg, 1533 [= Allen Ep. 2758, l. 77]: “Frequenter apud suos hanc vocem solet emittere...” [sc. William Warham, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had died some time before].

Similarly, P.S. Allen drew attention to this phenomenon in a note to Erasmus’ long letter to Jodocus Jonas of 13 June 1521 (= Ep. 1211, n.l. 89), where he writes, with reference to “solet”: “For this use of the present tense cf. ll. 138, 456, 513”. In Ep. 1211 we have indeed four instances of “solet” meaning “solebat”. When Allen died in 1933, the edition was carried on by his wife, H. M. Allen, and H. W. Garrod. When they came across an unusual “solet” in Ep. 3032 (= *Responsio ad Petri Cursii defensionem*), l. 216, they went further than P. S. Allen would have gone and did not hesitate to replace it (“*correximus*”) by “solebat” against the edition of Basel 1535, the Basel *Opera*, and even Clericus.

We have seen that an expression such as “solet” meaning “solebat” was felt to be incorrect, or at least unusual, by Clericus and later scholars. This, however, seems not to have been the case with Neo-Latin authors of the sixteenth century. As a matter of fact, Erasmus was not the only one to use it, vid. the following examples.

— Gerardus Listrius, *Oratiuncula habita in coetu scholasticorum Suollensium* (Zwolle, [1516?]; Nijhoff-Kronenberg no. 3411), fol. b1r

(on Demosthenes):

Quippe qui corpusculo, ut Plutarchus et Libanius scribunt, adeo fuit valitudinario, ut ne palaestram quidem ad quam omnes Atheniensium liberi solent se conferre, prae insigni imbecillitate adire potuerit...

— [C. Honius], *Epistola christiana admodum ...ex Bathavis missa ...longe aliter tractans coenam dominicam quam hactenus tractata est* (s.l., [1525?], in *Corpus Reformatorum* 91, p. 512, l.19 (=the well-known Honius-letter which had a great influence on the eucharistic doctrine of Zwingli and Bucer):

...animum ab omnibus avertet quae prius amare solet, et soli Christo inhaerebit...

— Gilbertus Cognatus, *OIKETES, sive de officio famulorum* (Paris, 1535; Basel, 1562), in Franz Bierlaire, *La familia d'Erasmus*, (Paris, 1968), p. 116:

Heliogabalus solet libertis suis praescribere, ut hic colligeret undecim millia muscarum, ille araneorum: ut hoc negotio occupati, non facerent quod alii liberti solent, miscentes sese patronorum publicis negotiis, interdum et fumos vendentes. Ridiculum est quod fecit Heliogabalus...

— Henricus Paulinus, *Oratio de vita...Cornelii Colthunii* (Emden, 1568), fol. Cr3:

Venio nunc ad conciones Colthunii, plenas profecto atque eruditas, quas habere solet in Ecclesia. Erat, ut scitis, disertus...

In the *Oeconomica christiana*, a sort of manual instructing people how to believe, and to live according to, the Gospel, written in the 1520s by an anonymous Dutchman, we come across no less than nine (perhaps ten) instances of “solet” etc. where we would expect the imperfect tense. The *Oeconomica* was republished, jointly with its contemporary Dutch translation (the *Summa der godliker schrifturen*) by the Amsterdam church historian J. J. van Toorenenbergen (*Het oudste Nederlandsche verboden boek. 1523. Oeconomica christiana. Summa der godliker schrifturen*, Leiden, 1882). In his edition he corrected the Latin text, relegating the original readings to the footnotes (vid. pp. 48 (twice), 71, 73, 74, 75, 87, 88 and 89; “solent” at p. 11, line 2 from below was probably overlooked). In so doing Van Toorenenbergen may have acted on the advice, or at least with the approval, of his Amsterdam colleague, the great Mennonite historian J. G. de Hoop Scheffer, who revised his conjectural readings. Only two other scholars dealt with the text of the *Oeconomica*, viz. the church historian H. G. Kleyn and the classical scholar J. C. G. Boot. The former agreed with most of Van Toorenenbergen’s corrections, but observed at the same time that the editor had sometimes treated as faults

what were in fact idiosyncrasies of the author of the *Oeconomica*, such as “solent” for “solebant” (See Kleyn, “De auteur der ‘Summa der Godliker Schrifturen’”, in: *Theologische Studiën* 1(1883), p. 316, n.1). Boot sent a number of emendations to Van Toorenenbergen, but did not comment upon “solet/solebat”. He may, therefore, be considered as agreeing with the latter’s relevant corrections. (See J. J. van Toorenenbergen, “‘Het oudste Nederlandsche verboden Boek’. (Summa der Godliker Schrifturen)”, in: *Theologische Studiën* 18(1900), p. 443-444).

As it happened, A. Horawitz was struck about the same time by an unexpected “solet” when editing the codex which came to be named the Horawitzianus after him (The MS is in the Gemeentebibliotheek Rotterdam and contains among other things 28 letters to or from Erasmus). In a letter from Jacobus Thomas to Martinus Lypsius (1525) we read: “Solet enim gloriari noster Iulianus omnia se habere Ciceronis opera, quae quidem extant”. Since this Iulianus was already dead in 1525, Horawitz observed: “Solebat? denn er war ja damals gestorben” (vid. A. Horawitz, *Erasmus von Rotterdam und Martinus Lypsius. Ein Beitrag zur Gelehrten-geschichte Belgiens*, Wien, 1882, p. 102).

It has become clear that the use of “solet” meaning “solebat” in the sixteenth century was less uncommon than we might expect. Supposing Erasmus was the first author to practise this idiosyncrasy — and I have not come across precedents as yet — we would like to know what induced him to do so. Returning to the *Modus orandi* quoted above, we find the combination “solent olim” (cf. also *Oeconomica christiana*, p. 71, 74). The bringing together of these words as such is not unclassical, cf. Ovid. *Fast.* VI, 149-150: “...color oris erat, qui frondibus olim/esse solet seris, quas nova laesit hiems”. This “olim”, however, means “sometimes”; it does not refer to the past and does not constitute, therefore, a parallel with the point at issue. What I am discussing here are instances of “solet/solent” surrounded by forms of the imperfect, in some cases together with “olim” in the usual sense of “in olden times, formerly, previously”.

Having found no satisfactory answer to our question I can only refer, *faute de mieux*, to a suggestion made by H. G. Kleyn concerning the Latinity of the *Oeconomica christiana*. To his mind its Latin made sometimes the impression of being “translated Dutch”. To illustrate this Kleyn provides some examples, including the use of “solent” for “solebant” (*Theologische Studiën* 1(1883), p. 318). However, he does not

explain why this should be a “Dutchism”. It is possible that Kleyn had in mind that in mediaeval Dutch “sy plegen” (they are accustomed to; solent) in some cases is the form of the imperfect tense. We read, for instance, in the *Summa der godliker scrifturen* (ed. Van Toorenenbergen, p. 167): “In voeren tijden waren sommige vrouwen, ghenoeemt Paula ende Eustochium...die met haren ioncfrouwen *plegen* latijn te lesen...”. The *Oeconomica christiana* has here “Paula et huius filia Eustochium atque cum his aliae virgines *solent* [*solebant* editor] latine sua cantica psallere...” (ed. Van Toorenenbergen, p. 73). Dr. H. Heestermans (Leiden) drew my attention to the fact that “pleeg/ plegen” as forms of the imperfect tense (third person singular/plural) — instead of the usual “plag/plagen” or “placht/ plachten” (the latter form is also the one in current usage) — was especially in use in the County of Holland (vid. *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, vol. XII,1 (’s-Gravenhage/Leiden, 1931), col. 2483).

Is it possible that Erasmus’ “solet” in the sense of “solebat” is a Dutchism, or, geographically more precisely, a Hollandism? Whatever it is, Erasmus was apparently never criticised by his contemporaries for using it; even his Ciceronian enemies did not seize this opportunity, an indication all the more that sixteenth-century Latin was more comprehensive than Clericus and other censors would have it.

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L'EMPLOI DE *NUM* ET *NONNE* DANS LES *ORATIONES DUAЕ*
IN THOLOSAM D'ETIENNE DOLET

Les grammaires latines usuelles d'aujourd'hui énoncent ainsi les règles d'emploi de *num* et de *nonne* dans l'interrogation directe: *num* introduit une question dont la réponse attendue est "non", *nonne* la réponse "oui":

"*Num insanis?*" "Est-ce que par hasard tu es fou?" (non, bien sûr!);

"*Nonne Socrates sapiens erat?*" "N'est-il pas vrai que Socrate était sage?" (si, bien sûr). Mais cette règle n'est pas formulée par les grammairiens antiques, Priscien ou autres. L'ignorant, les humanistes ne la respectent pas, sinon par hasard, ce qui n'est pas sans faire naître parfois des problèmes d'interprétation. C'est le cas des *Orationes duae in Tholosam* qui viennent d'être publiées à nouveau dans leur présentation de 1534, avec une traduction et des notes dues au travail approfondi de MM. Lloyd-Jones et Van der Poel.¹

Voici un premier passage où Dolet emploie *Num* pour introduire une question qui appelle pourtant une réponse manifestement affirmative. Dolet décrit l'activité de la "nation française" à l'Université de Toulouse comme celle d'une société de secours mutuels: les étudiants s'entraident, les plus aisés offrent à ceux qui sont dans le besoin, qui manquent d'argent ou sont malades, leur assistance et leurs services; lorsque l'un d'eux meurt sans famille, ils se chargent des funérailles:

"*Num id sanctum? num religiosum? num pietati ac Christianae persuasioni consentaneum?*"²

"Cela n'est-il pas saint? n'est-ce pas dévot? n'est-ce pas conforme à la piété et à la foi chrétiennes?"

¹ Kenneth Lloyd-Jones et Marc van der Poel, *Les Orationes duae in Tholosam d'Etienne Dolet (1534), Introduction — Fac-similé de l'Édition originale — Traduction — Notes*. Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, CCLVII (Genève, Librairie Droz, 1992).

² p. 14, l. 20 s.

Cette interprétation est d'autant plus assurée que quelques lignes auparavant Dolet écrivait:

*“Porro quid a nobis aut religione aut morum integritate dignum, iure illi requirant?”*³

“Et puis de quelle vertu religieuse ou morale pourrait-on à bon droit nous reprocher d'être dépourvus?”.

L'idée d'une inadvertance, d'une négligence, est écartée si l'on considère le caractère élevé du style et surtout quand on rencontre d'autres exemples du même emploi de *Num* ...?

Dans le deuxième *Discours* Dolet évoque le désastre de Pavie: faut-il dire que cette défaite suffit à effacer la gloire qu'avaient jusqu'ici value aux Français leur bravoure et leurs succès? Si quelqu'un soutenait ce jugement injurieux, “*num hoc simul falso et impudenter asserere videatur?*” Traduire ici *num* par “est-ce que par hasard ...?” serait faire dire à Dolet le contraire de ce qu'il pense, c'est-à-dire: “N'est-il pas évident qu'en disant cela cet homme proférerait un mensonge et un mensonge éhonté?”; *num* a clairement ici le sens usuel de *nonne* en latin classique; de plus il faut prendre le verbe *videri* dans l'acception non pas de “sembler”, mais d’“être évident” (p. 45, l. 28).

Dans le premier *Discours* à propos des étudiants qui ont délaissé leur pays natal et leurs amis pour venir à Toulouse:

*“Num deorum immortalium et hominum consensu singulari comprobandum videatur, vt Gallus Gallum, Italus Italum, Hispanus Hispanum, patriae studio et insita ab incunabulis charitate incensus pro se quisque diligit?”*⁴

“N'est-il pas évident que le jugement unanime des dieux immortels et des hommes doit approuver que, brûlant de zèle pour sa patrie et d'une affection enracinée depuis le berceau, chaque Français aime les Français, chaque Italien les Italiens, chaque Espagnol les Espagnols?”

Là encore *num* signifie “n'est-il pas vrai?” et *videri* “être évident”.

Voici encore un exemple tiré du même discours. A Orléans et à Poitiers où maints adolescents avaient commencé leurs études, les groupements en “nations”, dit Dolet, étaient considérés comme normaux et même louables; certains étudiants sont ensuite venus à Toulouse où les “nations” ont été accusées de provoquer des troubles, puis interdites. Pourtant, objecte Dolet, en prenant de l'âge ces jeunes gens, loin d'être

³ p. 14, ll. 12-13

⁴ p. 6, l. 25s.

devenus plus turbulents, ont gagné en sagesse; l'ardeur et les passions de l'adolescence se sont refroidies:

*"Num tempus aliquid? num aetas prouectior quicquam etiam adfert, quo libidines iuuentutis deferueant? quo voluptati obstemus? quo virtute tantum acquiescamus? Fingant nos Aurelii sanos, Pictauii constantes modestosque nos esse clament, num hic tamen saniores? num constantiores? num modestiores per aetatem esse simile veri videbitur?"*⁵

"N'est-il pas vrai que le temps, que l'âge plus avancé apportent quelque chose qui fait s'apaiser les passions de la jeunesse? qui nous amène à repousser le plaisir? à trouver le contentement dans la seule vertu? Qu'ils⁶ supposent qu'à Orléans nous étions sages, qu'ils proclament qu'à Poitiers nous étions paisibles et vertueux, ne trouvera-t-on pas néanmoins vraisemblable qu'ici par l'effet de l'âge nous soyons encore plus paisibles et plus vertueux?"

Suivent deux autres questions introduites par *num*, à prendre dans la même acception.

Un dernier exemple est fourni non pas par les *Orationes* elles-mêmes, mais par l'avant-propos en forme de lettre dû à un nommé Symon Finetius. Celui-ci assure avoir pris lui-même à l'insu de Dolet la responsabilité de faire paraître les deux *Orationes*. On ne pourra pas me reprocher, dit Finetius, d'avoir sali la renommée de mon ami "*scriptorum indoctorum et male cultorum editione*" "par la publication d'écrits dépourvus de savoir et de style"; au contraire, continue-t-il en apostrophant le destinataire de sa lettre:

*"Num unum ex omnibus nostri temporis Doletum esse mecum censes, cuius commentationes et summi laudibus et iucundissime gratissimeque docti sint excepturi?"*⁷

"N'est-il pas vrai que, comme moi, tu estimes que Dolet est celui de tous nos contemporains dont les doctes accueilleront les travaux avec les plus grands éloges, avec le plus de plaisir et de gratitude?"

L'emploi de *num* est le même que dans les *Orationes*. Il n'y a rien à en conclure, mais peut-être ce recours répété à l'interrogation oratoire, pour forcer en quelque sorte les auditeurs ou le correspondant à reconnaître l'évidence, est-il caractéristique d'un tour d'esprit et de style. On peut y voir un argument de plus en faveur d'une hypothèse formulée

⁵ p. 15, l. 3s.

⁶ "Ils" désigne ici les adversaires des "nations", donc de Dolet.

⁷ p.* 2, l. 17 et 19-22.

ailleurs⁸: ce Symon Finetius n'aurait jamais existé, ce serait une ruse de Dolet pour dissimuler le fait qu'il édite lui-même ces *Orationes* qui lui avaient valu tant d'inimitiés et que, peut-être, il avait promis aux autorités toulousaines de ne pas publier?

Y a-t-il en sens inverse des emplois de *nonne* pour introduire une question appelant une réponse négative? Dans le deuxième discours Dolet a recours à la prosopopée. Il fait parler *Gallia*, la France: elle reproche à Pinache, porte-parole de la "nation gasconne" à l'Université, de l'avoir injuriée; après quoi, Dolet reprend la parole pour son propre compte, en s'adressant à son tour au même Pinache:

*"Haec si tecum Gallia loquatur, nonne exanguis atque aestuans repente in illum inuolabis, nonne cum fractis quibusdam ac inanibus minis loquenti insurges? nonne sine vultus constantia, sine colore, sine voce, tanta tibi exprobrantem opprimes?"*⁹

En quel sens prendre ici *nonne*? Dolet veut-il dire que Pinache, en butte à de tels reproches, va entrer en fureur et s'opposer avec fougue à celle qui le blâme? Ou au contraire que cela lui sera impossible? Ces questions oratoires équivalent-elles à une affirmation ou à une négation? La suite immédiate, la réponse que Dolet lui-même donne à ses questions plaide pour la deuxième interprétation:

"Simile nihil ages: at tuae turpitudinis recordatione victus et benefactorum, quae in te a Gallia profecta sunt, memoria territus silebis, etc." (p. 42)

La honte obligera Pinache à garder le silence face aux reproches de *Gallia*. On pourrait toutefois émettre une objection et prêter à Dolet un degré de subtilité supplémentaire (c'est ce que font les traducteurs) en disant: "N'est-il pas vrai que tu vas faire une scène à la France?" Il raillerait, il soulignerait par l'ironie l'invraisemblance caricaturale d'une réaction de colère de Pinache; il ne reprendrait le ton direct et sérieux qu'avec *Simile, etc.* qui rendrait plus humiliante la honte de Pinache réduit au silence. Sans être absolument impossible cette interprétation est tout de même fort compliquée. La suite des idées, la cohérence du ton sont mieux préservées dans l'autre interprétation: "Si la France venait à te parler ainsi, te précipiteras-tu soudain sur elle, blême et plein

⁸ *Vivarium* 32 (Nimègue, 1994), 125-130.

⁹ Au lieu de futurs on attendrait des potentiels, mais ce serait un autre problème.

de rage? Te dresseras-tu devant elle, tandis qu'elle te parle, avec des menaces impuissantes et vaines? Chercheras-tu à l'intimider pendant qu'elle t'adresse de si graves reproches et que tu n'as ni fermeté sur le visage ni couleur ni voix? Tu ne feras rien de tel; au contraire vaincu par le remords de ta conduite passée et atterré par le souvenir des bienfaits qui te sont venus de la France, tu garderas le silence".

Ainsi il est plus difficile qu'on ne croirait d'être cicéronien. Il ne suffit pas de proclamer son admiration ni d'imiter un style; il faudrait respecter les mêmes usages que le maître en matière de langue; mais pour cela il faudrait les connaître.

Qui a le premier formulé les règles d'emploi de *num* et de *nonne*? Valla effleure le sujet (*Eleg.* II 15), mais ni Jules-César Scaliger, ni Turnèbe, ni Lancelot dans *La nouvelle méthode pour apprendre la langue latine* n'en soufflent mot. L'édition de 1740 du *Thesaurus linguae latinae* de Robert Estienne, enrichie par Birrius, écrit:

Num: Adv. interrogandi cui subauditur negatio. et

Nonne: Adv. interrogandi; ex Non et Ne compositum. Idem quod An non.

Ce n'est là que la bien mince esquisse d'une analyse. C'est seulement Madvig qui formulera en 1844 pour la première fois¹⁰ les règles aujourd'hui familières aux débutants. Toutefois sans les formuler certains humanistes ont pu, consciemment ou non, les respecter. Ce serait une enquête longue et difficile.

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¹⁰ Je remercie vivement Mlle Colette Baudelot qui m'a aimablement fait connaître la thèse de M. Hoff consacrée à ce sujet: *Le système linguistique de l'interrogation en latin classique*, thèse de 3^e cycle, sous la direction de Henriette Fugier, soutenue à l'Université de Strasbourg II, oct. 1979 (non publiée;exemplaire dactylographié).

Dana F. SUTTON

JOHN SANFORD, *APOLLINIS ET MVSARVM*
Εὐκτικά Εἰδύλλια (1592)

Although royal visits to Universities tended to generate a great deal of poetry and drama, the general dearth of literature produced in connection with Elizabeth's visit to Oxford in September 1592 is striking.¹ The literary centerpiece was the production at Christ Church of two old comedies, William Gager's *Rivales* and Leonard Hutten's *Bellum Grammaticale*. The present lyric cycle by the Chaplain of Magdalene College seems to have been the only original composition elicited by the occasion; it was issued by Joseph Barnes, printer to the University, later in the same year. The fine quality of Sanford's lyrics is particularly remarkable because of the speed at which he was obliged to write (the visit was only announced in early August) and because, save for two poems in a 1596 University anthology on the death of Sir Henry Unton,² the present work is his only known literary effort.

What we know about Sanford's life comes from Anthony à Wood's biographical sketch, quoted in part here:³

John Sanford, son of Richard Sanford of Chard in Somersetshire, gentleman (descended from those of his name in Devon) was born in

¹ This dearth of literature cannot be explained by thinking the university was newly combined after Long Vacation, for that institution lay well in the future.

To gain an overall idea of the queen's entertainment on this occasion, one may read the decrees drawn up by the special committee charged with making the arrangements, reproduced by Andrew Clark, *Register of the University of Oxford* (Oxford, 1887) I, pp. 228 - 30.

I should like to take this opportunity of extending my thanks to the two anonymous readers of this article, whose corrections and suggestions have gone far toward improving it.

² *Funebria Nobilissimi ac Praestantissimi Equitis, D. Henrici Untoni*, edited by Unton's chaplain Robert Wright and printed by Barnes.

³ Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, *Fasti Oxonienses*, and *Life of Anthony à Wood* (ed. by Philip Bliss, London, 1813 - 22, reprinted Hildesheim, 1969) II, pp. 471f. (I have written out some abbreviated words). The existence of Sanford's cycle has been acknowledged by writers such as Leicester Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae: A History of Anglo-Latin Poetry 1500 - 1925* (New York, 1940, reprinted New York, 1966) p. 60 and J. W. Binns, *Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: The Latin Writings of the Age* (Leeds, 1990) p. 67, but I know of no scholarship devoted to the man or his work.

Somersetshire, entered a commoner of Baliol college about the time of the Act in 1581, where continuing till he was bach. of arts, was then made one of the chaplains of Magdalene college. At length having contracted a friendship with John Digby, commoner of that house, did travel with him into France, Spain, and Italy, whereby he did much advantage himself in the modern languages. Afterwards he went in the quality of a chaplain to the said Digby, then known by the name of sir John Digby, at which time he was sent into Spain to treat of a marriage between the infanta, sister of the king of that realm, and Prince Charles of England. After his return, Dr. Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury made him his domestic chaplain, and at length prebendary of Canterbury, and rector of Ivychurch in Kent. He was a person of great learning and experience, and a solid divine, well skill'd in several languages, and a tolerable Latin poet.

As printed, the Εὔκτικὰ Εἰδύλλια falls into two parts. In the first (1 - 298), Apollo and the Muses, exiled from Greece, make their way to Oxford, encounter the queen, and each Muse offers a prayer for the welfare of her and her realm, in a different lyric meter: hence the work's title. This, perhaps, was what Sanford originally wrote for recitation at a Magdalene College banquet given by Nicholas Bond, President of Magdalene and current Vice Chancellor of the University, for the members of the Privy Council. But the feast was cut short by a movement by the queen (420ff.). The second part consists of a description of the Magdalene banquet. This may have been written subsequently to bring the piece up to publishable length.

Sanford must have been aware of the published cycles of odes on the would-be regicide William Parry and on the Babington Plot by Oxford's leading poet, William Gager (1555 - 1622). Like those odes, they are written in imitation of Horace, and Sanford surpasses Gager's adventurousness in attempting various lyric meters.⁴ Though somewhat larger, the present volume looks as if it is designed as a continuation of this series of Oxford printings comprising Gager's lyric volumes and the anonymous hexameter poem *Pareus*.⁵ The conceit of momentarily fusing Athens and Oxford, bringing Apollo and the Muses to the banks of the Thames, recalls Gager's similar strategy in two memorable elegies in the University

⁴ Polymetric choruses of Muses are familiar in continental Neo-latin literature: Erasmus, Constantinus Hugenius (Huygens), etc. But this is the only such work produced in England of which I am aware. Without polymetrics, the same format had been used in England by Gabriel Harvey in *Smithus, vel Lachrymae Musarum* (1578) and Spenser in *The Teares of the Muses* (1591).

⁵ Plausibly attributed to George Peele by C. F. Tucker Brooke, "A Latin Poem by George Peele (?)", *Huntington Library Quarterly* 3 (1939 - 40) pp. 47 - 67, an attribution approved by Leicester Bradner, *op. cit.* 61.

memorial anthology on the death of Sir Philip Sidney.⁶ More immediately, Gager wrote a special prologue for Hutten's *Bellum Grammaticale*, spoken by Apollo, newly come to Oxford (this is quoted in the Commentary note on 11f.). It is probably no coincidence that Sanford and Gager employed this same device; one imagines that the two poets did so according to the prior agreement that this would be the emblematic theme of the visit.⁷

Sanford's cycle was issued by Joseph Barnes, printer to the University, in 1592; it is tempting to suppose that the licensing of Barnes' press, the forerunner of the Oxford University Press, in 1584 involved an understanding that he would issue a certain amount of literature on subjects congenial to the government and established religion. One could point to the volumes just cited, and many other items of Anglo-Latin literature written under Elizabeth and James, as examples of patriotic effusions, sometimes downright political propaganda, manufactured for the consumption of the educated classes.⁸ And of course both the writing and the publication of poetry of this sort constituted an elegant means for the University to profess its loyalty at the same time it displayed its literary talent.

A transcript of the printed text was included in the anthology *Elizabethan Oxford* edited by Charles Plummer.⁹ All of the early poetry volumes issued by Barnes are very rare. In the present instance, only two copies survive, one in the British Library, the other in private hands when Plummer wrote. I do not know its present whereabouts. In the same anthology Plummer included other documents pertinent to the 1592 royal visit, which occupied September 22 - 28, the most interesting of which is an eyewitness account by Philip Stringer, a rather jaundiced Cambridge-educated follower of Lord Burghley (on this visit the Queen was accompanied by the full Privy Council).

⁶ *Exequiae Illustrissimi Equitis D. Philippi Sidnaei, Gratissimae Memoriae ac Nomini Impensae*, printed by Joseph Barnes, Oxford, 1587, edited by Gager. The final poem in this collection, a fine Sapphic ode by William Whitlock of Christ Church, is quoted in full as another example of Gager's influence on his contemporaries by Bradner, *ib.* p. 67.

⁷ The pageantry connected with the wedding of Prince Frederick of the Rhine to Princess Elizabeth of England in 1613 was similarly stage-managed around the mythological theme of Jason returning with the Golden Fleece, both in England and in Germany. Cf. Gager's *Complete Works* (ed. D. F. Sutton, New York, 1994) III, pp. xvif.

⁸ Particularly interesting, being a form of courtly flattery peculiar to Anglo-Latin poetry, is the frequent comparison of Elizabeth to a divinity, the prediction of her deification after death, or even the description of the queen as a living goddess. Often the technical language of the Roman Caesar cultus is appropriated for the purpose. This is not the place to expatiate on the possible political or religious implications at stake. But Sanford's poem contains much evidence that could fuel such a discussion and would warrant publication for that reason alone.

⁹ (Oxford, 1887) pp. 277 - 99.

ORNATISSIMO VIRO
DOMINO DOCTORI BONDO, ALMÆ ACADEMIÆ INSIGNI PROCANCELLARIO,
ET COLLEGII MAGDALENENSIS DIGNISSIMO PRÆSIDI;
PATRONO ET MÆCENATI SVO LONGE OPTIMO

Accipe, Maecenas, cecinit quos nuper Apollo,
et quos versiculos turba novena dedit,
cum subiit nostros princeps augusta penates,
viseret ut doctas Elisabetha scholas.
5 Carmina nos Musis affinximus ista: sed ecce,
vilia sunt, tanto nec satis apta choro,
nec bene tersa satis, nec loevi pumice munda,
digna sed ut iaceant sordibus uncta foris.
Qualiacunque sient, nostro sub nomine poni
10 vix patiar, ni sint numine tecta tuo.

Tuae dignitati deditissimus,

IOANNES SANFORDVS

TO THAT DISTINGUISHED GENTLEMAN, DOMINUS DOCTOR BOND, NOBLE
VICE CHANCELLOR OF OUR MOTHER THE UNIVERSITY, AND MOST WORTHY
PRESIDENT OF MAGDALENE COLLEGE, THE AUTHOR'S PATRON AND MOST
EXCELLENT MAECENAS

Accept, Maecenas, the trifling verses which Apollo lately sang, which the ninefold crew of the Muses gave forth, when our august sovereign Elizabeth entered our precincts to visit these learned schools. (5) I have ascribed these songs to the Muses. But see, they are tawdry things, unworthy of such a choir. They are insufficiently terse, unpolished by the fine pumice, but are worthy to be tossed out to lie in squalor. But no matter what they may be like, I should scarcely allow them to be put forward under my name, (10) were they unprotected by your authority.

Most devoted to your dignity,

JOHN SANFORD

IN REGINÆ ELIZABETHÆ AVSPICATISSIMVM ET EXOPTATISSIMVM ADVENTVM,
APOLLONIS ET MVSARVM εὐκτικὰ εἰδύλλια

- Dum sedet ad Thamesin Parnassi fonte relicto
Cynthius, hic vitreus lento qua flumine serpit
Isis, et Alfredi doctam vagus alluit urbem,
attonitus novitate loci, coelique solique
15 temperie, dixit, “certum est hic ponere sedes
Musis perpetuas, huius nunc incola terrae
dicar, et hunc populum nostro celebrabimus ore.
Vos iuga Pierii montis, vos stagna valete,
Gorgonis unda vale, valeant et Phocidis amnes”.*
20 Affatusque suas comites, “quam turpiter”, inquit,
“expulsi patria, quam dulcia liquimus arva,
quamque per aequoreos fluctus huc paupere cumba
appulimus, scitis, quanquam meminisse doletis;
hic tamen et sylvas, et prata virentia passim,
25 (vera fatebor enim) vix concedentia primis
cernitis, has terras certe Dea magna tuetur”.
Haec dum mirantur stantes in margine ripae,
ecce sub illunem noctem feriata per agros
turba ruens, inflansque tubas et tinnula sinistra,
30 clamat adesse deam, proprias ut visat Athenas.
Tum deus, aurata sumpta testudine, laudem
principis aggreditur pulsus ad carmina nervis;
quem parili studio Musarum turba secuta
concinuere, sono vicinia tota resultat.

APOLLO

- 35 O semper querulo carmine barbiton
gratum diis superis, deliciae Iovis,
te posco positis prorsus amoribus
nunc insigne melos, quale frequens sonas
inter lauta dapum fercula coelitum
40 non Daphne capitis nunc decus unicum
nostri; non Clymene filia Tethyos;
non Circes genetrix, nec Chione dolo
quae me sensit anum Daedalionia;
sed nec Leucothoes thurea virgula

* post *amnes* non interpunxit liber

WORSHIPFUL IDYLLS OF APOLLO AND THE MUSES ON THE MOST
AUSPICIOUS AND WELCOME ARRIVAL OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

When Apollo sat by Thames-side, having abandoned his Parnassan font, here where glassy Isis¹⁰ wends her gentle way, watering Alfred's learned town, amazed by the novelty of the place and the mildness (15) of its climate, he exclaimed, "I am minded to make an enduring home here with the Muses; now let me be called a citizen of this land, and with my mouth I shall celebrate its people. Farewell to you, Pierian ridges, farewell to you, marshes and Gorgon-waters, farewell, you streams of Phocis". (20) Addressing his companions, he said "You know (though the memory be painful) how shamefully we have been exiled from our native land, how we have departed our pleasant fields, how we have meanly made our way over the waters in a skiff. But here you can see greenwoods and verdant fields, (25) which I am bound to confess are in no wise inferior to their predecessors. And indeed a great goddess watches over this land".

As they marveled at these things, standing on the river bank, behold, a wild band came rushing over the fields in the moonless night, blowing trumpets and shaking their jingling rattles. (30) They exclaimed that the goddess was at hand, come to visit her own Athens. Thereupon the god, having taken up his golden lyre, undertook the sovereign's praises, twanging his strings as he sang. With equal zeal the crew of Muses joined in, and the entire neighborhood resounded with their music.

APOLLO

(35) O my lyre, always welcome to the gods above for your plaintive tune, Jove's delight, I ask you to set aside your loves and play an excellent song such as you sing as you haunt the Olympians' lavish banquets. (40) Now you are not to sing of Daphne, the unique ornament for my head, nor of Tethys' daughter Clymene, nor of the mother of Circe, nor of Chione, daughter of Daedalion who by deceit was seduced by me in the guise of a hag, nor yet again of Leucothoe's frankincense shrub.

¹⁰ The Latin name for the upper confluence of the Thames.

- 45 nunc cantanda tibi est: fertilior seges
in promptu dabitur carminis aurei.
En regina suo cincta satellite,
heroum celebri nobilium choro
ascito, niveis vecta iugalibus,
50 Musarum studiis structa palatia
exoptata subit, quam procerum cohors
ambit purpureis splendida vestibus,
sublimesque citis terga premunt equis.
Quos inter Tyrio murice virgines
55 distinctae properant, colla monilibus,
ornataeque sinus torquibus aureis.
Hos longo sequitur plebs levis agmine,
tantae festa canens iubila principi.
Huius tu modulis suavibus et sono
60 dulci fac celebres inclyta numina,
quae nos hospitio suscipiens novo
tutatur, Latii barbarus incola
quos diris odiis expulit, et vagos
eiecit patriis sedibus exules.

CALLIOPE

- 65 Tu qui potenti Iova regis manu
poli micantis militiam vagam,
qui syderum vultus minaces
comprimis, imperioque fraenas,

deterge coelo nubila tempora,
70 tollat nocivum Sirius et iubar
hinc usque ad Afros, nec procellas
excitet Aeolias Orion.

Obstringe ventos ne rabies Noti
imbres furenti depluat impetu,
75 absconde Pleiadas madentes
atque Hyadas pluviale sydus,

ne forte moto turbine principis
tardetur ardor, quo minus impigre
huc pergat interesse doctis
80 litibus, ac lepido duello.

(45) A more fertile crop of splendid songs will lie ready at hand. Behold, the Queen, surrounded by her retinue, having received her brilliant company of noble lords, drawn by snow white horses, (50) enters the great houses built for the Muses' pursuits, that she has longed to visit; a throng of noblemen attends her, splendid in their purple raiments, and sitting high they freight the backs of their swift steeds. Together with them hasten along maidens, perfumed with Tyrian myrrh, (55) decorated at the throat with ruffs, with golden necklaces at the breast. These are followed by the fickle commons in a long train, singing their gladsome whoops for such a ruler. (60) Celebrate her renowned godhead with agreeable measures and sweet music. She receives us with newfound hospitality and protects us whom the barbarous inhabitants of Latium have exiled with bitter hatred, who have ejected us as outcasts from our paternal homes.

CALLIOPE

(65) God, You Who guide the glittering heaven's wandering army with Your mighty hand, and restrain the threatening aspects of the stars, controlling them by Your government,

Sweep the sky clean of cloudy weather; (70) let Sirius shift his ruinous heat from here to Africa, nor let Orion stir up his Aeolian squalls.

Bind the winds lest Notus' fury bring down the rains with raging force; (75) hide the sodden Pleiades and the Hyades, the rain-star,

Lest perchance a storm arise and our sovereign's zeal be chilled for hastening hither to attend the learned (80) disputations, the pleasant contention.

Dies serenus solis ab exitu
egressus, octo perpetuet vices,
spectaculis ut ter beata
Elisabeth saturata clamet:

- 85 “satis iocorum vidimus undique
satis scholarum, risimus et satis.
nil non probamus; ecce laeta,
‘plaudite’ saepe dato,* recedo”.

CLIO

- Pande sublimes age laeta portas,
90 sede Musarum celebris Calaeua,+
urbis aeratae pateant revulso
cardine valvae.

- Advenit longa comitata turma
virgo regali trabeata veste,
95 continens sceptrum manibus tremendum
Elisabetha.

- Ita vos, cives, date dona divae,
principi praetor gladium resignet,
lictor huic fasces ferat, et secures
100 tradat habendas.

Nos novem quales deceant sorores,
promimus sacros codices, scholarum
aureos foetus; damus haec benignae
pignora mentis.

- 105 Munus amborum capiet serena
fronte, quod Marti simul et Minervae
apta, nativo genio utriusque
noverit arma.

- Fervet ad pugnas animo virili,
110 sicut armatas ruit in cohortes,
dignior certe meliore sexu
Volsca Camilla.

* *saepedato* lib. + *Calaeua* lib.

Let days clear from sunrise endure for a week, so that thrice-blessed Elizabeth, sated by the spectacles, may exclaim:

(85) “We have seen enough of pastimes on all sides, enough of the schools; we have laughed enough. There is nothing of which we do not approve. Lo, I retire joyfully, a ‘huzzah’ having frequently been given”.

CLIO

Calaeva, famous for your home of the Muses, (90) joyously fling open your gates, let the gilt doors of the city stand wide, their hinges bent back.

A virgin approaches, escorted by a lengthy train, clad in robe of state, (95) Elizabeth, wielding a mighty scepter in her hand.

Come, townsmen, present your gifts to the goddess, let the Mayor present her with his sword, let the Beadles bring their staves, and (100) hand over their rods of office for her safekeeping.

As befits the Nine Sisters, we submit holy scrolls, golden fruit of the Schools; we proffer them as tokens of our friendly disposition.

(105) She will receive both with unfurrowed brow, as she is equally proficient in the arts of Mars and Minerva, having mastered the weapons of both with her innate genius.

With manlike spirit she yearns for battle, (110) as she rushes against the serried ranks — assuredly a Volscian Camilla worthy of a nobler sex.

Fertur ad pacis studium suapte
sponte, dum stringit manus una ferrum;
115 alteram sacri tenet occupatam
pagina verbi.

Pallas utrinque est: vacat illa doctis
literis, et quas faciunt lituras
bella, subridens probat, arte, Marte
120 nobilis aequae.

Ergo coniunctis animis precemur
principi tantae senium Sibyllae,
copias Xerxis, cumulosque Croesi
aeris et auri.

THALIA

125 Salve conspicuum decus Brytannum,
tu regum soboles, iubar perenne
lucis, cura Iovis, favor deorum.
Te divam colimus, deam canemus
Muis propitiam, benigna cuius
130 promit dextera liberalitatis
gazas Attalicas opem roganti.
Non ignara mali faves egenis,
extorres miseros domo paterna
tu regina capis domo patenti,*
135 olim Sidonis ut vagos Elisa,
Teucros hospitio suo fovebat.
Vivas perpetuo beata regno,
et votis habeas deum annuentem,
cives morigeros: cita rebelles
140 plectantur nece perduellionis,+
qui turbare volunt tuam quietem.
De coelo tibi Iova largiatur
annos Nestoriae pares senectae,
laetos ut videas diu Brytannos,
145 laeti et te videant diu Britanni.

* *patenti*. lib.

+ *perduelliones* lib.

But her inclination leads her to the practice of peace; as one hand wields the drawn sword, (115) in the other she continues to grasp the sacred Word.

In both respects she is a Pallas; she has leisure for learned letters, and smiles at the wars which cause ink-blots, (120) noble alike in peace and war.

Therefore with united hearts let us pray that such a sovereign receive the old age of the Sibyl, the military might of Xerxes, and Croesus' piles of bronze and gold.

THALIA

(125) Hail, preeminent glory of the Britons, scion of kings, enduring ray of light, care of Jove, darling of the gods. We worship you as a goddess, we shall sing of you as a goddess favorable to the Muses, (130) whose generous hand of bounty offers Attalid coffers to him who begs your aid. Not unfamiliar with hardship, you support the needy; as queen you receive miserable outcasts into your capacious home, (135) just as once Sidonian Elisa supported the wandering Trojans with her hospitality. May you live, happy in your enduring kingdom, and may you find a God Who smiles on your wishes, and an upright citizenry. (140) May rebels, such as desire to disturb your peace, be stricken with treason's swift death. From out of heaven may Jove bestow on you years equal to Nestor's old age, so that you may long gaze on your happy Britons, (145) and your happy Britons may long gaze on you.

EVTERPE

- Ergo ades, Elisabeth, nostros visura penates,
 Pieridumque domos?
 Ergo ades ut spectes exercent qualia nostrae
 ludicra bella scholae?
 150 Hic nobis supremus honos: en erigit omnes
 nominis aura tui.
 Coelica diva vides reficit quam suaviter omnes
 numinis umbra tui.
 Cernis ut ampla cohors iuvenum per compita passim
 155 densat utrinque vias.
 Per vicos glomerata frequens stant ordine longo
 gens onerata stolis.
 Hi tibi gratantes clamant (lectissima princeps)
vivat Elisa diu.
 160 Vivas, et firma teneas pro iure precantur
 regia sceptrum manu.
 Tu parili studio doctas foeliciter artes
 dulcis alumna fove.
 Praeside te nostra florescant rostra, Lycaei
 165 principe te vigeant.
 Sic veniente die subsellia nostra sonabunt,
 et fugiente canent:
*Vivat Elisa diu nobis, post funera semper
 vivat Elisa Deo.*

ERATO

- 170 Iovis cerebro tu dea
 prognata, nostrae quae praees
 turbae, regisque fervidos
 gentis togatae spiritus,
 suffunde venam fertilem,
 175 atque inde vires coelitus
 ad carmen aureum, tuo
 dignum choro, dignum chely.
 Tu mitis inventrix sacrae
 olivae ades, mater bonae
 180 pacis, virenti fronde* fac
 ornes alumnos obsecro,
 ut prodeamus obvii

* *fronte* lib.

EUTERPE

And so, Elisabeth, are you present, come to see our homes, the abodes of the Muses? And so have you come to see what kind of playful wars are fought in our schools? (150) For us this is the highest accolade: see how the aura of your name has uplifted us all. Heavenly goddess, you see how pleasantly the shadow of your godhead refreshes us. You perceive how a goodly throng of youths gathers at the crossroads, (155) choking the streets. Throughout our streets our people, weighed down by their gowns, stand numerous in long rows. Cheering you, most excellent sovereign, they shout “Long live Elisa!” (160) They pray that you live, and that you lawfully grasp the royal scepter in your strong right hand. And you, sweet daughter, happily protect the learned arts with no less zeal. With you as our champion let pulpits flourish, (165) with you as sovereign let our debating-halls thrive. Thus when the day dawns our benches will resound, when the day ends they will chant “Long live Elisa for us, and after her death may she always live with God!”

ERATO

(170) You, goddess sprung from Jove’s brain, who presides over our crew and who rules the ardent spirits of the toga-clad race, provide us with a fertile vein of talent (175) and celestial powers fit for a golden song, one worthy of your chorus, worthy of the lyre. Be present, kindly inventor of the sacred olive, mother of wholesome (180) Peace; I pray that you adorn your children with verdant fronds, so that we may pour forth to meet you,

ramo arboris tuae, velut
 caduceo insignes. Adest
 185 proles Iovis, princeps pia,
 virgo diserta, publicae
 quietis altus quam subit
 amor, colona scilicet
 fontis Caballini, tuo
 190 sancto dicati numini:
 tuas Athenas quae colit,
 et nunc sua praesentia
 exornat artifex proba.
 Hic ergo defigat pedem,
 195 trahatque longas hic moras,
 fausto et recedens te duce
 iter capessat omine.

POLYHYMNIA

Sic te, diva potens, regat
 tutis auspiciis* Iupiter optimus,
 200 ut quocunque feras pedem,
 vites insidias cautius anguibus.
 Neptunusque maris deus,
 sic circum Albionis candida littora
 aestu perpetuo fremit,
 205 hostes ut rapidis fluctibus arceat.
 Sic Mars veste adamantina
 munitus vigiles excubias agat,
 ne sicarius impio
 telo virgineum perterebret latus.
 210 Illum ex cautibus editum
 credo Caucasiis, quem Armenius leo
 sevit, tigris et ubera
 admovit genitrix, nutriit aut lupa,
 cui primo stetit in manu
 215 regalem sitiens pugio sanguinem.
 Dii nos foemineum genus
 tutentur faciles numine provido,
 ut quas invalidas facit
 sexus, quas faciunt innocuas pudor,
 220 candor, casta modestia,
 fortes efficiat, fulciat et Deus.

* *auspiciis*. lib.

distinguished by a branch of your tree as if by a herald's staff. (185) Jove's child is at hand, the pious ruler, the learned maid, who is overwhelmed by a profound love for public tranquillity, a colonist indeed at the Nag's Font, (190) dedicated to your sacred godhead; she fosters your Athens, and now as a virtuous master of the art she adorns it with her presence. So let her plant her foot here, and long may she protract her stay. (195) And with you as her guide, when she retraces her route may she take the road with a favorable omen.

POLYHYMNIA

With safe auspices, puissant goddess, may Jupiter so guide you (200) that wherever you direct your step you may shun traps, more cautiously than serpents. May Neptune, god of the sea, thus gird Albion's white shores with perpetual storms, (205) that with swift currents he may thus ward off the enemy. May Mars, clad in adamant armor, keep wide-awake watches by night lest the assassin pierce the virginal side with his impious blade. (210) I think him born on Caucasian crags, sired by an Armenian lion, suckled by a tigress-mother or reared by a wolf, in whose hand first sprang up (215) the dagger thirsty for royal blood. May the favoring gods protect us, the female race, with their provident powers, so that God may make strong and defend women enfeebled by their sex, (220) innocent by their bashfulness, purity, and chaste modesty.

MELPOMENE

- Coeli monarcha, praepotens deum sator,
 et rex bonus mortalium,
 cui praepes ales armiger ferox gerit
 225 facies coruscas fulmine,
 de sede sublimis throni nos despice
 stratas humi sororculas,
 et voce supplici rogantes, ut velis
 Anglam beare principem.
 230 Tu fac avitum haeres diu solium premat
 prognata virgo regibus;
 diadema fronte, sceptrum fac manibus ferat,
 regatque gentem bellicam
 pacisque cum dici parens cupiat bonae,
 235 aevo fruatur optimo.
 Et si quod ulcus, publicae aut pestis rei,
 tam corneis fibris siet,
 qui fortis ausis impiis, struat scelus
 tibi sacratae virgini,
 240 tu stringe sulphureum pater telum cito
 in tam feri monstri caput,
 ut mole pressus Aetnaea Enceladi levet
 onus, latusque languidum,
 ne vivus aerem scelestus polluat
 245 oris sui contagio.
 Aut si superstitem velis, notam gerat
 quam caedis author, carnifex
 et primus infami tulit maculam, grave
 in fratre designans nefas,
 250 ut sic cruce homicida stigmaticus malae
 mentis perennes sentiat.

TERPSICHORE

- Vos lanificae trina sorores
 numina, quarum est texere fatum,
 queis pulchra colus tenui filo
 255 fundit nostrae stamina vitae,
 nostris precibus sistite cursum
 vestris digitis: dulcis Elisae
 tardo currat pollice fusus.
 Vos Penelopes aemula turba,
 260 sedula quicquid fortiter urget,
 fessa diurno dextra labore,

MELPOMENE

Monarch of heaven, mighty parent of the gods and kindly king of men, whose fierce armed bird bears (225) torches glittering with lightning, look down from your lofty throne on us poor Sisters, prostrate on the ground, who beg with suppliant voices that you elect to bless our English sovereign. (230) Grant that this scion of kings may long occupy her ancestral throne; grant that she bear the crown on her brow, the scepter in her hand, and that she govern this warlike race, while craving to be called the parent of wholesome peace, (235) and that she enjoy a time of greatness. But if some canker, some plague upon the nation should be so hard of bowels, being so strong in impious impulses, as to work evil against you, consecrated virgin, (290) then, Father, quickly level your sulphurous weapon at the head of such a fierce monster so that, weighed down by an Aetnaean mass, he might relieve Enceladus of his burden, the sluggishness oppressing his side, lest he live and pollute the air (295) with the wicked pollution of his mouth. Or, if you wish him to live, let him bear the stigma which the inventor of slaughter, the original murderer, once bore as a mark of sin, he who designed evil against his brother, (250) so that thus the murderer may feel the eternal pangs of a guilty conscience.

TERPSICHORE

You three divinities, wool-working Sisters, whose duty it is to weave a man's fate, whose distaff (255) plays out our life's fair fabric with its thin thread, at our prayers cease its passage through your fingers, let sweet Elisa's spindle run slow beneath your thumb. You must be a Penelope-like band, (260) and whatever your industrious hand accomplishes to its

- rursus tacita nocte retexat.
 Et Mygdonii senis aetatem,
 et quos Nestor viderat annos
 265 per tria saecula, vatis et aevum
 Dircaeï, vetulae sive Sybillae,
 faciles nostrae apponite Elisae.
 Spargant seri tempora cani,
 nullaque frontem ruga senilis
 270 aret, aut tremulos fulciat artus
 fractos senio triste bacillum,
 maneat pulchro candor in ore,
 decor et malas roseus tingat
 semper solito more rubentes.
 275 Numquam (id certe dabitur nunquam)
 pectus tantae principis atri
 Laethi durus sauciet ictus.
 At quia fatum ferre necesse est,
 sero saltem funera curet.

VRANIA

- 280 Illa ego, qua vivunt orbes, animantur et ignes,
 cuius moventur spiritu sydera clara poli,
 a Iove nacta genus, coelo notissima virgo,
 cuius corusca splendidum nomen ab arce gero,
 signavi, regina, locos ubi stabis in axe,
 285 postquam supremum mors tibi clausit atra diem.
 Est locus Erigonen inter plastrumque Bootae,
 coelo sereno lucidus, conspicuusque solo,
 unde micat rutilum pulchrae Minoidis astrum,
 et Iulium sydus cui Roma superba subest.
 290 Hinc tua subiectis radiabit stella Brytannis,
 et lene nautis Anglicis sparget amica iubar.
 Tu Cynosura tuis, Heliceque per aequora vectis
 hinc navibus clara feres praevia luce faces.
 Duxque per ambiguos tractus, ad littoris oras
 295 sistes, quiescat ut suo tuta carina vado.
 Pone metum, princeps, sedes tibi certa paratur.*
 Stellae et aether parturit, iam tibi mundus ovat.
 Sera tamen subeas foelicia regna precabor,
 ut fulgeas throno diu, celsior inde polo.

* post *paratur* non interpunxit lib.

exhaustion, it must also unweave in the silent night. And let her come to see the advanced age of the old Mygdonian man,¹¹ the years of Nestor (265) that spanned three generations, the age of the Dircaean seer,¹² or of the ancient Sibyl. Make yourselves compliant for our Elisa. Late may the gray hairs sprinkle her temples, the wrinkle of years (270) wither her brow, or a staff support her limbs broken by sad old age. Let the comeliness remain in her fair face and beauty paint her rosy cheeks, glowing always as is their wont. (275) Never — but assuredly you will never grant this — never let black death's stroke wound the breast of such a sovereign. But as it is necessary for her to bear this fate, let her at least be late in finding her end.

URANIA

(280) I am she who makes the spheres to live and animates their fires, whose breath moves heaven's bright stars, deriving my pedigree from Jove, the most famous virgin in heaven, taking my renowned name from its bright citadel. I have designated, o queen, the place where you are to stand in the sky (285) after black death has put an end to your final day.

There is a spot between Erigone and Bootes' wain, bright in the serene heaven, conspicuous on earth, where shines the gleaming constellation of Minos' daughter¹³ and Caesar's star, under which lies proud Rome. (290) From here your star will shine down on your subject Britons and will shed a gentle light for English navigators. You, a cynosure and Helice¹⁴ for your people that travels before as they traverse the waters, will illuminate them with a bright light. As a guide through the doubtful tracks you will bring them to the shore, (295) so that their ships may find rest in their shallows. Have no anxiety, sovereign, a sure place is readied for you. The welkin gives birth to stars, for your sake the universe rejoices. Yet I shall pray that you be late in coming into this kingdom, that you long may shine on your throne, and thereafter even more brightly in heaven.

¹¹ Tithonus: cf. the Commentary note.

¹² Tiresias.

¹³ Ariadne: cf. the Commentary note.

¹⁴ The constellation of the Great Bear (cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* VIII.207).

* * *

- 300 Haec cecinere novem Phoebō praeunte sorores
 Aonides, plausuque dato nēmus omne remugit;
 hinc regina potens plumatis tracta quadrigis,
 auratique rotis currus, atque agmine denso
 nobilium procerum comitata subintrat Athenas
 305 virgine de tanta, de tanta principe laetas.
 Quam solito incedens telis armata tenore,
 sollenni +de more cohors deducit ad aedes,
 sumptibus Attalicis quas struxit Wolseus olim.
 At diversa petunt venerandi tecta dynastae,
 310 invisuntque domos alias quas laudibus ornant,
 miranturque suis cum fundatoribus arces.
- Aedes Christi*
- Collegium Divae
 Mariae
 Magdalenae*
- Stat procul a reliquis redivivi solis ad ortum
 nobile gymnasium Waynfleti; proxima cuius
 unda lavat muros, ubi tardo labitur amne
 315 Cherwellus, lentisque intersecat arva fluentis.
 Ampla domus*, spaciosa loco, speciosa superbas
 ostendit portas; surgunt fastigia pinnis,
 intus et e pictis camerata cubilia tignis,
 319 fundatoris opes et opus sine voce loquuntur.
- D. Doctor Bondus
 almae Universitatis
 Procancellarius*
- Convocat huc regni primores praeses ab aula
 principis huc missus, quem tota academia patrem
 suspiciens reverenter amat, quem vita probatis
 moribus exornat, quem pagina sacra disertum
 efficit, et gravitas decorat non tetrica frontem.
 325 Hospitibusque suis epulum facturis opimum,
 tantos convivas dapibus genialibus explet.
 Dulcia vina cado depromit, fercula magnis
 sumptibus accersit; circumstant ordine longo
 qui mensas onerent famuli, qui vina ministrent,
 330 coelatosque scyphos, aurataque pocula ponant.
 Discumbunt satrapae: tum prima sedilia magnus
 augusta gravitate premit legatus ab oris
 Celtarum missus, clari Bourbonis imago,
 334 bellica magnanimum quem iactat Gallia regem.
- D. Cecilius magnus
 Angliae Thesaurarius
 de Nestore Ovid.
 li. 2 Metamorph.*
- Nobilis a dextra sequitur Cecilius heros,
 vir gravis et doctus, verae pietatis amator,
 facundusque senex, aevi prudentia nostri.
 Qui designatus quaestor primarius, amplo
 praeficitur fisco: sapiens vigilansque senator,
 340 principis et patriae graviora negotia tractat.

+ solenni lib.

* ampla dom' lib.

* * *

(300) Thus the nine Theban sisters sang as Phoebus led the way, and the entire grove resounded. Thereafter the puissant queen, drawn by plumed carriage horses in her coach with gilt wheels, escorted by a packed throng of peers, entered an Athens made joyous by (305) such a virgin, such a sovereign. And in its accustomed way this armed escort solemnly led her to the house which Wolsey once erected with an outlay worthy of the Attalids. But these venerable lords themselves sought out various lodgings (310) and were guests at other colleges which they heaped with praises, admiring these establishments and their founders.

Waynflete's noble institution stands off to the east, apart from the others, where its walls are lapped by the (315) Cherwell's waves as it wends its lazy way through the fields. This is an ample structure, spacious in its grounds, and it handsomely displays its lofty gates. Its roofs surge up with their spires, and inside rooms with painted beams mutely attest its founder's efforts and outlay.

(320) Here our President, sent from the sovereign's court, summoned the first lords of the land, this man whom the entire University reveres, looking up to him as its father; his life enlarges him with its approved morals, the sacred page renders him learned, and a gravity that it is not severe adorns his brow. (325) He was to give an excellent banquet for his guests. He regaled his table-companions with genial feasting, pouring sweet wines from the cask and calling for costly dishes. The servants appointed to furnish the table and pour the wine stood in a long row, (330) dealing out the chased cups and golden flagons.

The great men took their places. Then, august in his dignity, the ambassador sent from Celtic climes occupied the first seat, the image of the great Bourbon, the one of which warlike France boasts as its stout-hearted ruler.

(335) To his right sat noble Lord Cecil, that grave and learned gentleman, lover of true piety, an eloquent old man, "the wisdom of our times". He, having been appointed Lord Treasurer, presides over our ample fisc. A shrewd and vigilant member of the Privy Council, (340) he handles the weightier business of sovereign and state.

Comes Vigorniensis

E regione locum tenuit comes inclytus ille,
fertilis eximium cui dat Vigornia nomen.

*D. Herbert: Henr:
Somerset.*

345 Quem gentile decus, quem laus, et laurea magnae
cognitionis, amor patriae, prosapia clarum
efficiunt; geminos cuius de corpore natos,
spirantesque patris generoso in pectore mores,
nobilium fratrum par nobile, suscipit alma
Magdalena domus, tanto et laetatur alumno.

Comes Cumbriae

350 Affuit his epulis generosus Cumbrius heros,
fervidus ad pugnās, qui ter congressus Iberis,
in quos (navali bello violenter adortus)
horribili tonitru Vulcania dirigit arma,
omnibus et gemmis et mercibus exuit Indis,
laetus et in patriam spoliis remeavit onustus.*
355 sic fatus socios: “en vivis gloria nobis
se spondet comitem; sed quid si mersus arenis
cum duce miles (ait) caderet sine honore sepulchri?
marmoreo tegitur tumulto qui conditur undis”.

comes Pembrochia

360 Ordine tum sequitur dominus Pembrochius, ipse
nobilitatis honos, cuius praeconia cantat
Cambria, quam dextre tranquilla pace gubernat,
rite secans lites iudex, ac iurgia praeses.

*D. Herbert: filius
comitis Pembroch.
cuius illud est
emblemata*

365 Quem favisse piis, homines coluisse disertos,
relligiosa fides, et numinis entheus ardor
edocuit; puer huc patrem comitatus euntem
sedit convivas inter, praenobilis haeres
indolis egregiae, sed cui *stat messis in herba*.

*comes Essexiae
magister equitum*

370 Proximus accubuit reliquis Essexius heros,
nobilis et sapiens, superans iuvenilibus annis
cognitione senes, canosque aetate magistros,
qui doctos homines miratur, doctior ipse,
Maecenasque bonos passis amplectitur ulnis,
in bello pugnax, vir strenuus ὄζος Ἱσπανός,
cuius in Hyspanos res forti pectore gestas,
sensit ab occiduo Lusitania sole tepescens,
dum per agros medios ruit acer, et ipse superbae
pulsat Ulyxbonae ferrata cuspide portas.

*de Titaesio
Hesiod in lib.
ἀσπίδος τοῦ
Ἡρακλέους.*

375 Cuius et insultus (dum vitae prodigus ardet
affictos Gallos tegere auxiliariis armis)
380 laudibus Armoricae celebrat gens incola terrae.
Ille cito subvectus equo qui naribus ignes
spirat, et indocilis rigidum mordere lupatum
spumeus exultat, sequitur te, regia virgo,

* *onustus*, lib.

The opposite place was held by that famous Earl who takes his title from Worcester, renowned for pedigree, praise, the laurels garnered by a deep intellect, patriotism, and foresight. Magdalen has enrolled his two sons, (345) breathing their father's character in their hearts, a noble pair of noble brothers, and rejoices in acquiring such progeny.

The noble Earl of Cumberland was present for the feast, (350) eager for battles, who has thrice come to grips with the Spanish, having violently attacked them by sea, plying his Vulcan's artillery with horrible roaring; he had acquired all the Indies' gems and wares and joyously returned to his native land, laden with spoils. (355) Thus he addressed his comrades: "Lo, glory vouchsafes herself to us while we are living. But what", he said, "if a soldier is sunk in the sands¹⁵ without honor of a grave? He who is buried in the waves is covered with marble".

Next in order followed the Earl of Pembroke, the very (360) glory of the peerage. Wales proclaims his achievements, how adroitly he manages her with tranquil peace. As magistrate he duly arbitrates disputes, as governor he settles quarrels. His true religion and burning ardor for the Lord have demonstrated how he has supported the pious, (365) favored the learned. His son, accompanying his father on this visit, sits at the banquet, a very noble heir of high character, but one for whom *a cornstalk stands up among the grass*¹⁶

Next to these sat Lord Essex, noble and wise, in the flower of his youth (370) surpassing his elders in wit, surpassing his teachers, hoary with age. He admires the learned, though yet more learned himself. As a Maecenas he enfolds good men in his capacious embrace. Aggressive in war, an active child of Ares, whose grave-hearted deeds against the Spanish (375) sun-baked Lusitania has felt, as he dashed through her fields and personally struck at proud Lisbon's gates with his iron-shod spear. (380) The dwellers in the Armorican land¹⁷ celebrate his onslaughts as, heedless of his life, he yearns to protect the afflicted French with helpful arms. He rides along on a fire-breathing steed wildly champing at the hard bit, exulting in the foam, as he follows you, virgin Queen, a famous horseman, a fierce

¹⁵ Of the sea bottom.

¹⁶ His family motto.

¹⁷ Brittany.

- comes South* 385 clarus eques, milesque ferox, equitumque magister.
Hamptoniae Post hunc insequitur clara de stirpe dynasta,
iure suo dives quem South-Hamptonia magnum
vendicat heroem; quo non formosior alter
affuit, aut docta iuvenis praestantior arte,
ora licet tenera vix dum lanugine vernali.
- D. Howardus* 390 Assidet his satrapis multum celebratus Houardus
magnus Angliae corpore procero et reliquos supereminet omnes,
Admiralius magna ducum soboles, proavorum clara propago,
cui soli regina favens de stemmate tanto,
iussit ut illius tutelae regia classis
395 mandaretur, onus non quovis remige dignum,
sed magnis cautisque viris et pectore forti.
- D. Strange* Nec tuus hinc aberat, comes inclyte, filius haeres,
filius comitis Derbia cui paret, quemque insula Mona salutat
Derbiensis regem, sed talem qui magnae iussa capessis
400 principis, illius sceptro tua iura resignans:
qui diadema geris quod nectit bractea plumbi,
vilior argento, fulvoque impurior auro.
- Hi sunt (si memini) tua qui convivia, praeses,
qui, Waynflete, tuos castos adiere penates.
405 Intererant alii plures de gente minori,
quos taceo, cunctos quia percensere molestum est.
- D. Buckhurstius* Unus abes, Sackville, choro dilecte togato,
summus Academiae maximus urbis honos, academia nostra patrono
Oxon: Cancellarius quo gavisus suo est, et Maecenate benigno.
410 Quae tibi sic loquitur: "cur gaudia nostra moraris,
vocibus et votis cum sis mihi mille petitus?
Ostendunt crebri gemitus, querimonia tristis,
quam sit dulce frui, quam te caruisse dolendum.
Hinc tamen ad regni maiora negocia missus
415 cogeris esse procul; quem munera magna fatigant,
curaque sollicitum destringit adesse volentem.
quod quoniam regina tui fidissima iussit,
postulat obsequium. Quare parere necesse est".
Haec, inquam, mihi visa queri; stupor ora deinceps
420 occupat, et matris natorum iuncta querela est.
- Hi sedere duces, vario sermone trahentes
tempus, et appositis satiantes corpora mensis.
Ista quibus viva dicenda poemata voce
si licuisset erant, subito sed rumor ad omnes
425 pertigit, egressam thalamo, tectoque relicto,
reginam divae properare ad Virginis aedes.
Protinus ut dederant ultro citroque salutem,
discedunt; magnas capit hospes ab hospite grates.

soldier, the Master of your Horse.

(385) After him follows a magnate of high degree, a man whom by right Southampton claims as her great lord. No gentleman more comely was present, no youth more distinguished in the arts, though the down scarce grows on his gentle face.

(390) Seated among these grandees was the very famous Howard, who overtopped the rest with his lofty frame; a great descendent of captains, brilliant whelp of his ancestors. Favoring him alone among his bloodline, the queen has ordered that the royal fleet be (395) charged to his care, a responsibility not for any tar, but only for great and provident men of stout heart.

Nor, famous Earl, was your son and heir absent, you whom Derby has given us, whom the Isle of Man calls its king — though you are a king such as heeds the bidding of our great (400) sovereign, yielding your rights to her scepter, wearing a crown of gold-washed lead, cheaper than silver, less pure than the yellow gold.

These, if I recall aright, were those present at your festivities, President; these were the men who visited your chaste dwelling, Waynflete. (405) Many of lower estate were there also, of whom I keep silent, whom it would be tedious to enumerate.

You alone were absent, Sackville, darling of the toga-clad throng, greatest glory of this city, in whom our academy rejoices as its patron, its kindly Maecenas. (410) And thus she addresses you: “Why impede our joys, when I have sought you with a thousand pleas and entreaties? Frequent sighings and sad complaints show how sweet it is to enjoy your company, how doleful to live without you. But, having been despatched on royal business, (415) you are obliged to tarry afar, you who are worn down by great responsibilities, distracted by care, though you crave to be present. The fact that the queen, always loyal to your interest, has commanded you, compels your obedience, you must comply”. Thus, I say, she seemed to make her plaint. Then a numbness (420) overcame her mouth and the mother’s complaint merged with that of her children.

These great men remained seated, drawing out the time in varied conversation, while satisfying their bodies with the dishes set before them. And, had it been possible, these poems would have been recited for them. But suddenly word (425) came to them all that the divine queen had come out of her chamber and quit her lodging for St. Mary’s church. The lords departed, as soon as they had exchanged greetings, and the host received great thanks from his guests.

CONVIVANTIBVS REGIIS CONCILIARIIS PAVCA QVÆ DICENDA ERANT CARMINA

- Hactenus, egregii proceres, spectastis honorem
 430 quem dedit effuso ruris gens incola censu,
 turbaque magnificis epulis generosior auxit.
 Nunc, quibus applaudit vobis academia votis,
 excipit et quantis urbs undique laeta triumphis
 principis adventum, festa plebecula voce
 435 testatur, vacuas quatiens clamoribus auras.
 Nec sua sunt tantum plaudenti gaudia vulgo,
 verbaque non solum spirantibus edita fibris
 vocales sparsere sonos: sub turribus altis
 pendula pulsatis tremuerunt ictibus aera.
 440 Muta domus loquitur candenti perlita gypso,
 picta coloratis trabibus; minioque renidens
 clamat Io paries, et moenia celsa videntur
 submisisse caput, vobisque assurgere portae,
 ut vestris meritis reverentia debita fiat.
 445 Vestit honoratos heroas gloria tanta.
 Gaudia sic cives peragunt, rurisque coloni
 sic partes egere suas; nos, altera turba,
 nos humiles Musae, tenues humilesque myricae
 quas dabimus grates? gratæ quæ munera mentis?
 450 Nulla sub his tectis gemma, aut pretiosa supellex,
 transtulit Eois qualem mercator ab Indis,
 non Syrae merces, non lamina fulva metalli
 danda venit nobis, non byssina tela, quotannis
 qualia ab arboribus depectunt vellera Seres.
 455 Vivimus hic tenui quadra, stat paupere mensa
 parca Ceres, raro fervent convivia Baccho.
 Ergo quid e nostro promemus pectore? Certe
 vota decent humiles et verba precantia Musas:
 haec satis una placent vobis, si nil damus ultra;
 460 cum simus tenues, molimur grandia frustra.
 Vivite foelices, et limina nostra frequenter
 visite, conspicui proceres, famulantia vestris
 nutibus, has aedes, haec tecta, has Palladis arces
 structas a vestris proavis, munite favore.

EISDEM HONORATISSIMIS VIRIS

*Romuli hasta in
 cornum arboreum
 mutata.
 Ovid. Met. lib. 15*

- 465 Romulus, ut fertur, iaculum dum librat in aprum,
 colle Palatino rasilis hasta stetit,
 Et crevit stabilita novis radicibus arbor,
 frondescensque altas ventilat illa comas.

A FEW THINGS THAT WERE TO HAVE BEEN BE SAID TO THE MEMBERS OF
THE ROYAL COUNCIL THEN PRESENT

Thus far, excellent lords, you have witnessed the duty (430) paid by our rustics at lavish expense, that the more well-bred congregation has amplified with magnificent feasting. Now the academy testifies its devotion by the well-wishing with which it hails you and the exultation with which our happy city receives its sovereign, (435) shaking the empty air with its shouts.

These rejoicings do not belong only to the cheering throng alone, nor do our words, issuing from heaving lungs, alone broadcast vociferous sounds: the brazen bells in their lofty belfries shiver as they are struck, (440) the mute houses wax eloquent with their new coats of whitewash, tricked out with their painted beams. The walls, gleaming with vermilion, shouts out “huzza”, the high walls seem to bow their heads, the gates spring open for you, so that due reverence may be paid your high accomplishments. (445) Such glory attends honorable peers.

Thus the townsmen revel in their joy, thus the yokels play their part. We, another crew, we humble Muses, tender and humble as tamarisks, what gratitude shall we express? (450) Under this roof there is no gem, no elegant furniture fetched by some merchant from the East Indies; no Syrian wares, no plate has come to us for the giving, no silken fabric such as the Chinese harvest like wool from trees. (455) Here we live on simple bread, a thrifty Ceres adorns our humble table, our banquets rarely glow with Bacchus.

Therefore what are we to offer from our hearts? Our prayers and worshipful words befit the Muses; this alone pleases you, if we give no more, (460) and since we are lowly we undertake great things in vain. Live happy, outstanding Lords, come often to our threshold devoted to your wills, to these halls, these edifices, these citadels of Pallas built by your forefathers, defend them by your favor.

TO THE SAME MOST NOBLE GENTLEMEN

(465) They say that when Romulus was wielding his javelin against a boar, the polished spear struck the Palatine hill and a tree grew, supported by novel roots; it burgeoned with leaves and raised its lofty head to the breeze. It blossomed and offered shade for the ad-

*crevit & viruit
usque tempora
belli civilis sub
Iulio Caesare,
Plut. in vita Romuli.*

- floruit, et populo miranti praebuilt umbras,
donec in imperio civica bella silent.
470 Post ubi Caesaream discordia fregerat urbem,
sanguineque imbuerat plebs furiata manus,
protinus excussis foliis ruit Itala cornus,
aruit, et ramos exuit alta suos.
- 475 Vestris (aurati proceres regnique senatus)
fraxinus auspiciis consiliisque viret.
Lancea fit laurus, frameam pacalis oliva
vestit, et inducto cortice fronde tegit.
Nos inter Martis lituos fera bella minantes,
480 securos agimus pace vigente dies.
Dumque ruunt alii strictis in vulnera telis,
auspice regina terra Brytanna canit,
et canet assiduo, tutaque quiescet in umbra,
si pugnae vestra sedulitate cadant.
- 485 Sin fremat infestis odiis, et concitus oestro,
imperio populus libera colla gerat,
concidet Iliacis subito gens nostra ruinis,
concidet Elisabeth, curia sacra ruet.
Quaeque prius tereti succreverat arbor ab hasta
490 caesa dabit nostrae tela cruenta neci.
Arceat hoc nostris Deus a cervicibus omen,
et pia pro regno sint rata vota velit.
Publica res vigeat, salvum cum principe vulgus
floreat, hostiles nec tremat illa dolos.
- 495 Vosque, quibus regni sunt tota negocia curae,
qui consulta datis, ter generosa cohors,
promite solertes faecundi pectoris artes,
ferveat ut sacrum relligionis opus,
quae nunc ingeniis male convenientibus acta,
500 litibus innumeris, dissidiisque gemit.
Sic deus intererit vestris conatibus, et vos
diriget afflatu spiritus iste suo.
Sic dabitur semper vestris et fascibus haeres,
consulis et proles vestra subibit onus.
- 505 Vivite nunc laeti, vobis pincerna deorum,
nectaris et succos, ambrosiamque ferat.

bon pro vous façade.

miring populace (470) as long as civil wars were silenced by government. Afterward, when discord had shattered the city and the people had drenched their hands in gore, this Italian ash shed all its leaves and died, withered, and lost its limbs. (475) Our ash flourishes, golden Peers, Councilors of the realm, by your auspices and counsels. The lance becomes a laurel, the peaceful olive clothes the spear, a bark grows, it is covered with leaves. While Mars' trumpets threaten wild wars, (480) we spend our days in security amidst a thriving peace. While others go a-dashing, swords drawn for the wounding, the land of Britain sings under our queen's auspices. And it will sing unremittingly, safe and tranquil in the shade, if battles lapse thanks to your industry. (485) But if our people should rage with bitter hatreds, stung by the gadfly, and try to keep its neck free of government, of a sudden our nation will collapse in ruins worthy of Troy. Elizabeth will fall, our sacred Court will suffer its downfall. And the tree that has grown out of a polished spear (490) will be killed and supply weapons for our slaughter. May God avert this omen from our necks, may He approve of our pious prayers for the realm! May our republic thrive, may the Commons fare well along with its sovereign, may she not quake at our enemies' tricks! (495) And you, to whom all the realm's affairs are charged, who offer your counsel, thrice noble committee, hatch clever devices in your fertile hearts, that religion's sacred work may be carried forward with fervor, for religion is now practiced by minds scarce in agreement, (500) groaning because of our countless quarrels and schisms. Thus God will be present in your endeavors, and will guide you with the onbreathing of His spirit. Thus an heir will always be granted you for your staves of office, thus your progeny will relieve you of the burden of your counsels. (505) Now live happy, may the gods' cupbearer bring you the juice of nectar and ambrosia. GOD SERVE YOU WELL.

TEXTUAL COMMENTARY

1 - 10 This introductory poem addressed to Dr. Nicholas Bond, President of Magdalene College and current Vice Chancellor of the University, written in elegiac couplets, stands in lieu of a dedicatory epistle. It is signed by the author, whose name does not appear on the title page. (The title *dominus* was given any University man who had been admitted to the degree of B. A.).

3 *Nostros...penates* means Magdalene College, not the University as a whole.

11 - 34 The poem's first passage, in dactylic hexameters, sets the fictive stage for the following sequence. Apollo and the Muses, ejected from their Grecian haunts, have made their way to Oxford where they intend to make a new home. Why they have been cast out of Greece is not yet stated: for the reason, cf. 62ff. with the Commentary note *ad loc.* Now at last they are delighted to find a new and equally hospitable environment.

It is probably no coincidence that a special prologue written for the revival performance of Gager's *Rivales* before the Queen on Tuesday, September 15, as attested by Philip Stringer, p. 255 Plummer, is very similar. Here too Apollo is the speaker:

*saltus relinquens clara Woodstockii iuga,
venatione fessus, ac dammis satur,
et iam necandis tempore exacto feris,
meis reviso nobilem Musis domum.
sed unde tanta sedibus nostris nova
successit hospes? ore quam sese ferens!
quae celsitudo! quanta maiestas adest!
genus esse divum credo, nec vana est fides.
tune illa Elisa, nympha quam Syrinx suo
Tamesis ad undas pulchricoma Pani edidit?
tune illa es, annos ante quae bis iam decem
et sex, ad istos prima venisti lares?
ipsam esse memini, pristinum agnosco decus.
regina salve virgo, terrarum dea,
caelique cura, saeculi ac mundi stupor.
o singulare pectoris studium tui!
iterumne tibi delubra Musarum sacra
subire placuit, et tui, dignum tuo
utinam absolutum, adire monumentum patris?
bis hospes, et bis grata venisti, mihi*

*Phaeboque, Graiisque, Musisque, omnibus.
utque aliqua merito gratia habeatur tuo,
soccum Thalia comicum ornabit tibi.
laetare quaeso, diva, sceptrique inclyti
repone pondus, et supercilium grave.
iocosa laetos Musa tibi ludos dabit.*

13 In his dissertation on the antiquities of Oxford, Sanford's contemporary Leonard Hutten recorded a tradition that the University of Oxford was founded by King Alfred (cf. Plummer's *Elizabethan Oxford* pp. 41 - 4).

19 *Gorgonis unda* refers to the Hippocrene, so called because this fountain was created by the blow of Pegasus' hoof; cf. Ovid, *Epistulae ex Ponto* IV.viii.79f.:

*quae quoniam nec nos unda submovit ab illa,
ungula Gorgonei quam cava fecit equi.*

21 Cf. Vergil, *Eclogue* i.3, *nos patriae finis et dulcia linquimus arva*.

29 Special rattles (*sistra*) were used in Greek and Roman religious processions.

30 The identification of Oxford as a modern Athens is a recurrent theme throughout the cycle: cf. 191 and 304. Here and at 190 there is a concomitant insinuation that Elizabeth is to be identified with Minerva.

35 - 64 The meter is Lesser Asclepiadics

40 Daphne, pursued by Apollo, was transformed into a laurel tree, from which was made a wreath for the god (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I.452 - 567). For *decus unicum* cf. Ps. - Seneca, *Hercules Oetaeus* 749.

41 - 5 A bevy of women mentioned by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses*. Clymene, daughter of Oceanus and Tethys, was the mother of Phaethon (II.156). Perse was the mother of Circe (IV.205). For Chione cf. XI.301 - 45. Leucothea (or Leucothoe), loved by Apollo, was changed into a frankincense bush (IV.255).

49 In his description of the royal visit, Philip Stringer wrote of "the coach wherein she was" (p. 250 Plummer). The "band of noble lords" are the members of the Privy Council, to whom we shall be introduced below.

50 The *palatia* are the various colleges and halls of the University.

55f. Since *monilibus* and *torquibus* would seem redundant if both referred to necklaces, perhaps the former word is employed to designate ruffs.

62 It is now revealed why Apollo and the Muses were ejected from Greece: the coming of the Romans put an end to Greek civilization (Sanford had perhaps read such works as Plutarch's essay *On the Decline of the Oracle at Delphi*). But surely there is a subtext: the Church of Rome is inimical to learning and culture.

Evidently in writing these lines Sanford was thinking of a passage in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in which the island of Delos offers its hospitality to Latona, pregnant with Apollo and Diana (VI.184 - 9):

*Latonam praeferre mihi, cui maxima quondam
exiguam sedem pariturae terra negavit!
nec caelo nec humo nec aquis dea vestra recepta est:
exsul erat mundi, donec miserata vagantem
"hospita tu terris erras, ego" dixit "in undis"
instabilemque locum Delos dedit.*

65 - 88 These lines are written in Alcaic stanzas.

65f. *Iova*, a humanistic poetical contraction of *Jehova*, is also found at line 99 of Michael Wallace's *In Serenissimi Regis Jacobi...Carmen ἐπιχάρτικον*, printed by Richard Field at London, 1606. (This poem has been published by Estelle Haan as "Milton's *In Quintum Novembris* and the Anglo-Latin Gunpowder Epic, Part II", *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 42 [1993], 368 - 401).

68 Sanford may have been thinking of Vergil, *Aeneid* I.53f.:

*luctantis ventos tempestatesque sonoras
imperio premit ac vinclis et carcere frenat.*

69 Cf. Horace, *Odes* I.vii.15, *albus ut obscuro deterget nubila caelo*.

79f. Academic disputations were staged as part of the Queen's entertainment; Stringer and Wood provide detailed accounts, and some of the arguments advanced on this occasion survive.

82 The Queen's visit lasted from September 22 to 28, eight days by the Roman inclusive method of reckoning.

89 - 124 This passage describes Elizabeth's formal reception into Oxford on the afternoon of September 22, 1592. Some of its details can be glossed by Philip Stringer's description of the event; others refer to transactions not mentioned by him.

Clio's song is written in Sapphic stanzas.

89 Perhaps Sanford was thinking of Vergil, *Aeneid* XII.584, *urbem alii reserare iubent et pandere portas*.

90 An anonymous reader for this journal has pointed out that the book's *Calaena* is a misprint for *Calaeva*, an old Roman name sometimes given to Oxford. Cf. the entry for Oxford in J. G. T. Graesse, *Orbis Latinus* (Amsterdam, 1969) vol. III, p. 89.

91f. According to Stringer (p. 250 Plummer) the Queen was greeted by Vice Chancellor Bond and other academic luminaries at Godstow Bridge, about a mile outside the city. If any gates were still hanging, their function was purely ceremonial. Cf. Nicholas Robinson's description of the Queen's 1566 entry (p. 176 Plummer), *introiit Regina in urbem per portam Aquilonarem, in qua carcer publicus est, qui Bocardo dicitur, intra duas turres quae portam utrinque claudunt, quaeque dealbatae erant*.

97f. Stringer does not mention the presence of civic authorities, but cf. the account of the Queen's visit by Anthony à Wood, reproduced by John Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1788, reprinted New York, undated) II, p. 144.

98f. Cf. Stringer, *ib.*, "Whereupon the Vicechancellor delivered up unto her Highness the Beadles staves, which were immediately re-delivered unto her by himself, with the signification of a speech wherewithall they were provided (as hir Highness understood) so that it were not too longe".

101 - 4 A speech was then delivered by Mr. Thomas Savile of Merton College, Senior Proctor of the University, and brother of Sir Henry, the famous Tacitean scholar. Presumably the Queen was simultaneously presented with a copy of the oration.

109 For *animo virili* as a quality attributed to a woman cf. Ovid, *Fasti* II.847, *Metamorphoses* XIII.165, and Seneca, *Agamemnon* 958.

112 Camilla was the amazon-like Volscian princess who fought and died for the Italian cause in Book XI of the *Aeneid*.

118 This assertion is not quite true: during this visit a controversy between William Gager and Dr. John Rainolds about the propriety of acting, currently dividing the academic community, erupted, and Elizabeth was obliged to intervene during the present visit; in her farewell speech to the University she issued a warning against such dissension and implicitly rebuked Rainolds (for the text cf. Plummer, *op. cit.* 272f.).

125 - 45 This passage is written in Phalaecean lines.

131 The Attalids were a wealthy dynasty of Pergamum during the Alexandrian period.

132 *Non ignara mali* refers to Elizabeth's treatment under Mary. The echo of Vergil, *Aeneid* I.630, *non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco*, already makes Elizabeth a kind of second Dido.

135f. The reference is to Dido receiving Aeneas and his wandering Trojans. There may be an allusion here to William Gager's *Dido* of 1583, in which the comparison between Dido, often under the name Eliza, and Elizabeth had been drawn repeatedly.

146 - 69 The meter now is First Archilochians, consisting of a dactylic hexameter followed by a dactylic trimeter catalectic.

149 The phrase *ludicra bella scholae* would seem calculated to echo the special prologue Gager wrote for the revival performance of Leonard Hutten's comedy *Bellum Grammaticale* on this occasion:

*accensa canimus praelia ac regum minas.
tu, diva, tantum propitia nobis fave,
o principum, regina, quot sunt optima,
et quot fuerunt, quotque venturis dehinc
erunt in annis. nec tamen tragoediam
ideo expavescas, bella quia canimus, dari.
ridicula canimus bella, ridiculos duces,
grammatica nempe bella, grammaticos duces.
arma hic sine armis, vulnera hic sine sanguine,
sine caede strages, saucii sine vulnere,
sine morte caedes, turgidae regum minae,*

*sed nominales atque verbales minae,
 futilesque turbae, scilicet quales dare
 rex nominalis rexque verbalis solent,
 academica mera iurgia ac rixae irritae.
 nihil hic erit reale, sed erunt omnia
 idola rerum, spectraque ac larvae leves.
 nam murium cruenta cum ranis fuit
 tristisque pugna. nullus hic manat cruor,
 nisi forsán albus, quem fluere superis ferunt.
 hic sunt iocosa praelia, iocosi duces;
 hic pugna, ludos, vulnera cachinnos dabunt.
 utinam illa suavem, diva, tibi risum exprimant.*

166f. Cf. Vergil, *Georgics* IV.466, *te veniente die, te decedente canebat*.

170 Again, Sanford returns to the theme of identifying Elizabeth with Minerva, for Elizabeth is the *proles Iovis* of 185 - 93.

The meter of 170 - 97 is iambic dimeters. In the book lines 183 - 5 and 187 are indented for no obvious reason.

173 The *gens togata* is presumably the Athenian race and simultaneously the gown-clad Oxonians: cf. 191ff. (for the phrase cf. Vergil, *Aeneid* I.282, Martial XIV.cxxiv.1, and Statius, *Silvae* I.vi.360).

180 The book has *virenti fronte*, as if the prayer is to impart shining faces to the Oxford citizenry. This reading is scarcely impossible, but *fronde* seems to fit the context better; cf. also *fronde* with forms of *vireo* at Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XI.27, XI.108, and Statius, *Silvae* I.ii.231.

183ff. Cf. Vergil, *Aeneid* VI.808f.:

*quis procul ille autem ramis insignis olivae
 sacra ferens?*

189 For *Caballinus* ("The Nag's Spring") = Hippocrene, cf. Persius, *Proem* 1. Gager had used his expression in one of his printed odes on Elizabeth's rescue from the Babington plot (poem XX.15).

198 - 221 Polyhymnia's passage is written in Second Asclepiadeans.

201 In my translation I am not sure what to do with *anguibus*. I have construed it with *cautius*, as if Sanford were echoing *Matthew* 10:16, *estote ergo prudentes sicut serpentes*. But it might also be taken with

insidias. At the anonymous poem *Pareus* published by Barnes in 1585 (probably by George Peele), sig. A 7^r, the image of the snake in the grass is also employed as a symbol of treason.

202ff. In writing these lines Sanford must have been thinking immediately of the storm that destroyed the Armada. More generally, he is touching on a theme that appears in a good deal of Elizabethan literature, the provident nature of England's isolation. This theme can be traced back to Vergil, *Eclogue* i.5, *et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos*. Cf. Shakespeare, *Cymbeline* III.i.13f., "a world by itself" and III.iv.136f. *I' th' world's volume / Our Britain seems as of it, but not in't*, and the speech in *Richard II* II.i. that begins with the line *This other Eden, demi-paradise*.

210ff. Sanford was of course thinking of a famous passage from the *Aeneid* (IV.364 - 6):

*nec tibi diva parens generis nec Dardanus auctor,
perfide, sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens
Caucasus Hyrcanaeque admorunt ubera tigres.*

215 William Gager also wrote about this peculiar thirst for royal blood. For example, in poem III he discussed the dagger of the would-be assassin William Parry:

*praelusit olim pugio qui tuus
in creditoris sanguine subditi
iam victimam spernens minorem
imperii caput expetebat.*

See also poems *VII.1f and XXV7f.

222 - 51 The meter is iambic trimeters alternating with iambic dimeters.

237 Cf. Persius, *Satire* i.47, *neque enim mihi cornea fibra est*.

240ff. Once the Giants rebelled against Zeus, who buried one of them, Enceladus, under Mt. Aetna. The prayer is that this weight be shifted to modern conspirators, which would have the incidental effect of relieving Enceladus of his burden.

This passage seems reminiscent of a passage from Gager's poem XXIII, from his cycle of odes on the Babington Conspiracy (45 - 60)

*illi periclo dispereant suo
nati gygantum sanguine. spiritus
contunde sublimes, malumque
eveniat male cogitanti*¹⁸.

*Pindo Tiphoeus Pelion obruat,
Ossamque Olympi mole cacuminet,
frendant Gygantes, et revulsas
Enceladus iaculetur ornos:*

*maior trisulco fulmine Iuppiter
sternet rebelles, impiger aggeres
evertet, aeternumque flammis
sulphureae cruciabit Aetnae.*

*Titana proles, consilii fere
expers, ruinam mole trahit sua.
odere divi quicquid altum
tentat iter, vetitumque nobis.*

The present passage also echoes Vergil, *Aeneid* III.578 - 82:

*fama est Enceladi semustum fulmine corpus
urgeri mole hac, ingentemque insuper Aetnam
impositam ruptis flammam exspirare caminis,
et fessum quotiens mutet latus, intremere omnem
murmure Trinacriam et caelum subtexere fumo.*

247 The *caedis author* is Cain.

252 - 79 This passage consists of anapestic tetrameters, variously resolved.

259 - 62 The image would be fresh in Oxonians' minds since Gager's tragicomic *Ulysses Redux* had been produced at Christ Church in the preceding February.

261 Cf., evidently, Ovid, *Metamorphoses* IV.215f., *ea fessa diurnis / membra ministeriis nutrit reparatque labori.*

263 Statius, *Silvae* II.ii.108, *Mygdonii Pyliique senis*. Presumably Sanford, like Statius, meant to indicate Tithonus, who asked for and received immortality from the gods but forgot to ask for perpetual youth,

¹⁸ The last two lines of this stanza were translated by the late C.F. Tucker Brooke as *honi soit qui mal y pense*.

so grew increasingly decrepit and eventually turned into a cicada. But this seems a strange kind of immortality to wish for Elizabeth!

264 Cf. the prophecy at *Silvae* IV.iii.150f.:

*annos perpetua geres iuventa
quos fertur placidos adisse Nestor,*

280 - 99 Urania's song consists of iambelegiac distichs: dactylic hexameters alternating with a line consisting an iambic dimeter + two and a half dactylic feet (a meter used in Horace, *Epode* xiii).

286 - 90 Sanford mentions three astral transformations described by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses*, that of Erigone and Bootes, or Icarus (X.446ff.), of Ariadne (VIII. 172ff.), and Julius Caesar (XV.745ff.). In the case of the third of these, there is probably an insinuation here that Elizabeth's Protestant star will eclipse Caesar's Roman one. For *Iulium sydus* cf. Horace, *Odes* I.xii.46 - 8:

*micat inter omnis
Iulium sidus velut inter ignis
luna minores.*

The reader attuned to classical echoes might have recalled Propertius III.xiii.60, *frangitur ipsa suis Roma superba bonis*.

This passage bears a striking resemblance to one in another 1592 volume of Latin poetry. At the end of the fourth Eclogue of Thomas Watson's *Amintae Gaudia* the spirit of Sir Philip Sidney is transformed into a bright new star, appropriately named Astrophilus: cf. sig. K 1. Since Watson was buried at the church of St. Bartholomew-the-Less, London, on September 26, 1592, and *Amintae Gaudia* was registered with the Stationers' Company on November 10, it is doubtful that either poet influenced the other. Presumably both were thinking of the nova of 1572 which inspired Tycho Brahe's *de Nova Stella*, although that event actually occurred in Casseiochia.

300 - 464 The meter changes to stichic hexameters.

301 For *Aeonides* = Boeotian or Theban, cf. the examples cited in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* entry.

308 The Cathedral College of Christ was founded, under the name of Cardinal College, by Cardinal Wolsey in 1525. For "Attalid" cf. the Commentary note on 130.

312 The College of Mary Magdalene was founded by William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, in 1459.

316 The printer misread Sanford's curled abbreviation for *-us* as an elision-signifying apostrophe: read *ampla domus*.

319 Cf., evidently, Ovid, *Amores* I.iv.19, *verba...sine voce loquentia*.

328 - 30 Cf. Vergil, *Aeneid* I.705f.:

*centum aliae totidemque pares aetate ministri,
qui dapibus mensas onerent et pocula ponant.*

332 - 4 University records show that the French ambassador on this occasion was not Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, Vicomte (later Duc) de Turenne, as one would expect (Howard A. Lloyd, *The Rouen Campaign, 1590 - 92*, Oxford, 1973, pp. 31f.), but rather Monsieur Beauvoys La Noude. Cf. Wood, *Fasti Oxonienses* I, p. 261.

335 - 40 William Cecil, Lord Burghley (1530 - 98).

337 As indicated by the sidenote, the tag *aevi prudentia nostri* comes from Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XII.178.

341 - 8 Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester (1553 - 1628); cf. the *D. N. B.* biography. He was one of several members of the Council who received an M. A. on this occasion. His sons Henry (destined to be the fifth Earl and first Marquis of Worcester) and Charles were both Magdalene men (Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, London, 1891 - 2, reprinted Nendeln, 1968, IV, p. 1389).

A full list of recipients of M. A.'s on this occasion, with some biographical sketches, is given by Anthony à Wood, *Fasti Oxonienses* I, p. 260f.

349 - 58 George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland (1558 - 1605); cf. the *D. N. B.* biography. He too received an M. A. now.

358 A grim but untranslatable pun: the surface of the sea is sometimes called *marmor* in Latin poetry.

359 - 67 Henry Herbert, second Earl of Pembroke (1534? - 1601); cf. the *D. N. B.* biography. Another recipient of an M. A. His son William Herbert was also present on this occasion.

367 A heraldic motto suggested by Ovid, *Heroides* xvii.265.

369 - 83 Essex had attended Cambridge where, according to the practice of the the times, he received a courtesy M. A. Those familiar with Essex' flamboyant career at Cambridge, where he distinguished himself chiefly by running up debts, will be amused by this account of his erudition. It is noticeable that the passage devoted to Essex is the longest of the series.

372 Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XI.64, *invenit Eurydicen cupidisque amplectitur ulnis*.

373 Though ὄζος Ἄρηος is a common Homeric formula, the sidenote cites its application to Tityrus at the Hesiodic *Shield of Heracles* 181.

375 - 80 In 1589, without first securing the queen's permission, Essex joined Drake's expedition, where, as his *D. N. B.* biography put it, "he distinguished himself in an aimless way".

385 - 9 Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton (1573 - 1624); cf. his life in the *D. N. B.* He is of course best remembered as the patron of Shakespeare.

390 - 6 Charles Howard, Baron Howard of Effingham and Earl of Nottingham, the Lord High Admiral (1536 - 1624); there is a biography in the *D. N. B.*

391 Cf. Vergil, *Aeneid* VI.857, *viros supereminet omnis*.

397 - 402 Fernando Stanley, Lord Strange (1559? - 94). "On the death of his father on 25 September, 1593, he succeeded to the earldom of Derby and the sovereignty of Man" - *D. N. B.*

407 - 9 Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst (1536 - 1608), the Chancellor of the University of Oxford; cf. the *D. N. B.* life.

420 For the traditional image that Oxford was one's *alma mater* cf. Thomas Seccombe and H. Spencer Scott (edd.), *In Praise of Oxford: An Anthology in Prose and Verse* (London, 1910) II, p. 333f.

426 According to Stringer, pp. 251 and 257 Plummer, Elizabeth twice heard disputations at St. Mary's, on the afternoons of September 23 and 26. The former occasion was the first full day of her visit, and on the 25th the Privy Council had met in session (*ib.* p. 256). It would seem more probable that this banquet was held at midday on the 26th.

442f. Sanford was perhaps thinking of *Psalm* 24:9, *Lift up your heads, O ye gates; even lift them up, ye everlasting doors; and the King of glory shall come in.*

448 For *humiles myricae* cf. Vergil, *Eclogue* iv.2.

451 For *Eois...ab Indis* cf. Ovid, *Amores* II.vi.1. But of course the phrase had acquired a new significance in view of modern geographical discoveries.

454 Cf. Vergil, *Georgics* II.121, *velleraque ut foliis depectant tenuia Seres?* (evidently Sanford had no clearer idea than did Vergil of how silk is manufactured).

455f. Is there an insinuation that the inmates of Magdalene live, and extend hospitality, like Philemon and Baucis at Ovid, *Metamorphoses* VIII.629 - 724?

465-506 Elegiac distichs.

465-74 The sidenote refers to Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XV.560ff. and Plutarch, *Life of Romulus* xx.5 - 6 (but Plutarch only says that in the time of Caesar the tree was inadvertently destroyed by workmen).

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A LATIN FUNERAL ORATION FROM VILNIUS (1594)

Edited, with introduction and notes*

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this article is to offer a new edition of the following funeral oration: *Oratio in exequiis nobilis et generosi adolescentis Adaucti Kownacki, studiosi Academiae Vilnensis, S<ocietatis> I<esu>, A Iacobo Eucholcio habita Vilnae in aede sacra D<ivi> Ioannis, ad studiosam iuventutem III. Kal<endas> Aprilis M. D. XC. IV. Vilnae, In Officina Societ<atis> Iesu.*

With the oration we will edit the accompanying pieces, viz.

1. a dedication letter of Ludovicus Weiher to Valentinus Kownacki, father of the deceased Adauctus Kownacki;
2. four *epicedia*, written by Thomas Karlowski, Bartholomeus Radziminowicz, Ioannes Milecki and an English poet Gulhielmus Soteronus and, finally,
3. an *eteostichon* (chronogram) by Andreas Rochmanius Nieswiezien-sis.

1. THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AT VILNIUS UNIVERSITY IN THE 16TH - 17TH CENTURIES

Vilnius University was founded on the basis of a secondary school — the College of Vilnius — which existed from 1570. Pope Gregory XIII announced the bull concerning the transformation of the *Collegium Vilnense* into the *Alma Academia et Universitas Vilnensis Societatis Iesu* on October 30, 1579. The bull read that all the rights of the newly established university were granted to the Superior General of the Jesuit

* I am particularly indebted to Doc. Dr. Hans Helander for his unremitting help and expert advice concerning this edition. My thanks to Prof. Dr. Sten Eklund and Dr. Monica Hedlund from the Department of Classical Languages at Uppsala University (Sweden).

Order. Thus the Pope handed Vilnius University into the property of the Jesuit Order.

Unlike most universities in Western Europe, which usually had four faculties (theology, philosophy, law, and medicine), the University of Vilnius had only two, theology and philosophy.

From the end of the 16th century all Jesuit schools were governed in accordance with the regulations issued by the Superior General and called *Ratio Studiorum* (published in Rome in 1599). They set out the duties of provincials, rectors and other officials, as well as the main aims of educational theory. The Jesuits used a formal humanistic teaching method — linguistic-philosophical method — at the University. It was a typical model of education commonly used in Europe.

First of all, students had to take a five-year course at the College. At that time Latin was a vehicle of culture and scholarship in Europe. As prescribed by the *Ratio studiorum*, Latin was taught throughout all five years at the College: three years were assigned to the rudiments of Latin, one year to stylistics, and the last year to rhetoric. In order to improve the level of Latin studies, the Jesuits introduced a six-year course of Latin in 1583. The course in Latin grammar was divided, too. During the first two years students had to learn the rudiments of morphology and some rules of syntax, in the third year they had to study morphology and syntax at a more advanced level, and in the fourth year they went over the whole subject again.

For grammar classes students analysed Cato's distichs, read and learned by heart texts of Canisius's catechism, Despauterius's grammar book, analysed selected letters from Cicero, learned the rudiments of Greek. The main textbook for teaching Latin at first was Aelius Donatus's *Ars Minor* (*Ars Prima*), but the most famous textbook was *De institutione grammatica libri tres* (ed. princ.: 1572) of the Portuguese Jesuit Emmanuel Alvarus [Alvarez], which had already been widely used in Western Europe for twenty years or so before it was published for the first time at Vilnius in 1592.

Four years was a long enough period for students to master Latin grammar and to learn to speak Latin. The fifth year was devoted to the literary and stylistic analysis of Roman authors, such as Virgil, Horace, Ovid etc. Students sometimes even tried their hand at writing verse in Latin which was then corrected by their teachers.

Eucholcius' text illustrates the results of this education. His vocabulary consists of soundly classical words, and only allows a few terms with a

typically Christian or mediaeval meaning, such as “academia”, a University, “dominus” used as a title, “Deus” the God of the Christians and “divinae literae”, the Bible. The same can be said of Eucholcius’s morphology which is entirely classical except for one instance of late and mediaeval usage, which survives in many Neo-Latin texts, viz. the ablative singular ending on *i*: *maiori cura* instead of *maiore cura*. Finally, in matters of syntax the author essentially adheres to the moderate Ciceronian model as can be expected in a text written in a Jesuit environment.

In rhetoric students had to learn the art of eloquence. From the end of the 16th century the textbook of another Portuguese author, Cyprianus Soarius’s *De arte rhetorica* (1560) was used for rhetorical studies at the University. The author referred to the classical rhetorical rules of Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian. The students analysed various aspects of Cicero’s orations and wrote Latin speeches themselves. Cicero was the greatest authority in matters of style, but other authors read during all the years of *studia humaniora* were, among others: Ovid, Virgil, Horace, Tibullus, Catullus, Tacitus, Caesar, Sallust, Livy, Homer, Demosthenes, Isocrates, Hesiod, Theognis, Aesop, and John Chrysostom.

After graduating from the College, students could enter the Faculty of Philosophy where the studies went on for another three years. Here they studied logic in the first year, physics (natural philosophy) in the second year, and metaphysics and ethics in the third year. The professor of philosophy had to adhere to scholastic philosophy, and especially to the teaching of such authorities as Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus etc. The moral philosophy course which was also based on Aristotle, treated spiritual and physical good as two opposites. True good could only be spiritual and moral in its nature.

Young men who did not want to be ordained finished their studies by graduating from the Faculty of Philosophy, whereas seminarians continued their studies in the Faculty of Theology for about four more years. This faculty had departments of Theology, Holy Scripture and Hebrew. So the complete studies lasted for around twelve years, and the student graduated from the Faculty of Theology became a member of the Jesuit Order.¹

¹ J. Kubilius (chairman), V. Merkys, L. Pazusis, A. Sidlauskas (eds.), *A Short History of Vilnius University* (Vilnius Mokslas Publishers, 1979).

2. LATIN IN VILNIUS.

Quite a lot of literary works on Lithuanian matters were written in Latin before the University was founded.

One of the first Lithuanian authors who wrote in Latin was Michalo Husovianus (around 1480 - after 1533). His poem *Carmen de statura, feritate ac venatione bisontis*, published in Cracow in 1523, describes the Lithuanian landscape, way of life and customs, touches on some actual political problems, and reflects the clash of paganism and Christianity. A person under the pseudonym Michalo Lituanus (around 1490 - 1560) wrote a treatise *De moribus Tartarorum, Lituorum et Moschorum* in the middle of the 16th century, but it was not published until 1615 in Basel. An extraordinary figure in the cultural life of Lithuania in the 16th century was the lawyer and poet of Spanish origin Petrus Roysius Maurus Alcagnicensis (around 1505 - 1571). The publicist, lawyer, and mayor of Vilnius, Augustinus Rotundus (around 1520 - 1582) wrote a no longer extant history of Lithuania in Latin around the year 1560. Ioannes Radvanus, a humanist poet of the second half of the 16th century, wrote an epic poem imitating the *Aeneis* of Vergil. His *Radvilias*, intended to become the Lithuanian national epic, was published in Vilnius in 1588.

These and other writers of prose and poetry created a rich humanistic Latin literature of various genres, and the newly established *Academia et Universitas Vilnensis* could draw from its tradition.² Neo-Latin literature at the Academy is connected with European Neo-Latin literature in general, viz. with the genres and forms of ancient literature reborn in the times of Humanism. At the same time, it is full of local color and references to the cultural and political life of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

The professors and students of the Academy wrote in verse as well as in prose. They dedicated their works to kings and dignitaries attending the temple of knowledge, congratulated them on their birth or marriage, and wrote funeral orations on their decease. Victories, nearly every school holiday, conferral of the academic degrees etc. were immortalized in verses. Everyone who graduated from the College was supposed to be able to write poetry.

² *Vilniaus Universiteto istorija 1579-1803* (Vilnius, 1979), pp. 78-82; J. IJsewijn, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*. 2nd edition (Leuven 1990), pp. 239-253. For an excerpt of Michalo Lituanus see the first edition (Amsterdam 1977), pp. 337-338.

The habit of holding funeral orations in Latin spread in Lithuania in the 16th century. Not so many of these funeral orations are extant and it is difficult to determine the date when the first of them was held.

3. EUCHOLCIUS'S ORATION.

Funeral orations (*oratio* or *laudatio funebris*), as we know, belong to epideictic oratory (*genus demonstrativum*), the aim of which is to praise a person's qualities and virtues. This can be done by means of the encomiastic *topoi*.³ An epideictic oration was supposed to create a pattern of virtue and to make it attractive to the audience through the use of a ceremonial style. How this was achieved by Eucholcius we will try to show by means of a few remarks on the author's *inventio* and his Latin language.

The author's first task is to collect the material for his text (*Inventio*). The orator, according to Cicero (*De oratore* II 99), must be well acquainted with his subject matter. Therefore, an author of a funeral oration should be well informed about the course of life of the deceased.

Jacobus Eucholcius in his oration on Adauctus Kownacki, however, does not care much for biographical details, and it is not an exaggeration to claim that the biographical element is hardly present at all. Eucholcius does not bother to give us a full and reliable *curriculum vitae* of Kownacki (sometimes the Latinised form Kownacius is used). He does not even try to draw a comprehensive picture of the deceased. It seems as though the person to whom the oration is devoted serves only as a means to achieve other goals, which is why just the most common traits of the character and deeds of the deceased are mentioned. Adauctus Kownacius was "... ingenii viribus et facultate subnixus, usu, exercitationeque dicendi perpolitus, forma et specie liberali praeditus, in rebus agendis promptissima quadam celeritate gratus", so that "...in tantis naturae et fortunae muneribus, submissione animi ornatus, oculos omnium recreare ac delectare sua presentia, atque animos in sui amorem et admirationem potuit pertrahere" (§2). Furthermore, he was an "optima spe et indole praeditus adolescens" (§72).

Since Aristotle the *inventio* was based on a number of *loci communes* or *topoi* which the author was supposed to use. Among such *topoi* we usually find an apology of the orator's inadequacy to treat such an important theme in fitting terms. Surprisingly, therefore, Iacobus

³ E. Tengström. *A Latin Funeral Oration from early 18th Century Sweden (An Interpretative Study)*, (Göteborg, 1983), p. 93.

Eucholcius, does not regret his insufficient skilfulness to compose a funeral oration. On the contrary, he is quite sure that he is able to do what is required (§8). And, in order to make himself credible, Eucholcius often refers to his own or his listeners' personal experiences, another well-known *locus communis*: *nam potestis recordari* (§2), *arbitror* (§12), *animaduenteremus* (§22), *videmus* (§37), *animaduertimus* (§58), *intelligitis* (§61), *recordamini* (§66), *mihi credite* (§72).

Among the many other *topoi* in Eucholcius's oration I will limit myself to one more, viz. the mediaeval "Ubi sunt?" motive, best known from the students' song *Gaudeamus igitur*: "Ubi sunt qui ante nos, in mundo fuere, etc." Compare §56 of the text in which it appears in combination with the related Ash Wednesday motive: "Memento, homo, quia pulvis es...".

4. TEXT EDITION

a) The Authors

The authors of the *Oratio* and the funeral poetry were obviously students of Vilnius University, but since there is no matricula of the *Alma Academia et Universitas Vilnensis* extant it is very difficult to know more about Iacobus Eucholcius and the other authors of the book. We only can refer to some other books of the same period (1594-96) in which we find their names and which show that they were rather actively engaged in writing *epicedia*.

1. The *Threni in exequias ... Lazari Philonis Kmitae Czarnobyli Palatinidae Smolensensis ...* (Vilnae, 1594) contain the following contributions:

Iacobus Eucholcius, *Non segnis stat remeatque dies*;

Ludovicus Veiherus, *In obitum Lazari Kmitae ode tricolos tetrastrophos*;

Ioannes Milecki, *Mors reprobis nox, electis lux*;

Gulielmus Soteronus Anglus, *Hic via, ubi patria*;

Thomas Karlowski, *Homo vitae commodatus non donatus est*;

Bartholomeus Radziminowicz; *Non mors at Kmita triumphat..*

2. In the *Parentalia in obitum ... Georgii Chodkievicii Generalis Capitanei Samogitiae etc. etc. A sodalibus Congregationis Parthenicae, Academiae Vilnensis, Societatis Iesu ...* (Vilnae, In Typographia Academiae S. I., 1595) one finds again three of them:

Iacobus Eucholcius, *Sodalitas Parthenica moerorem et desiderium testatur*;

Ioannes Milecki, *Cinis exaequat omnes*;

Gulielmus Soteronus Anglus, *Moerorem terrigenis, gaudium coelitis attulit*.

3. A third collection is *Funebris laudatio et threnodiae, in exequias Ornatissimi et Lectissimi adolescentis Ioannis Barscii. A studiosa iuven-tute conscriptae, in Academia Vilnensi Societatis Iesu* (Vilnae, In Offi-cina Academica S.I., 1595), with, again, Iacobus Eucholcius as the author of a *Chorus sive responsum puerorum Brausbergensium*, and Gulielmus Soteronus Anglus, who contributed an *Epitaphium Ioanni Barscio defuncto*.

4. Finally, one of the poets, Ioannes Milecki, is the author of *Virtutem sequitur gloria* in a booklet published one year later, viz. *Threni in obi-tum ... Nicolai Szymanowski, studiosi philosophiae in Academia Vil-nensi Soc. Iesu. A iuventute eiusdem Academiae scripti* (Vilnae, 1596).

b) The Original Edition

Iacobus EUCHOLCIUS, *Oratio in exequiis nobilis et generosi adoles-centis Adaucti Kownacki, studiosi Academiae Vilnensis, S. I.*

(Vilna: Officina Academica Societatis Iesu. 1594). Small 4°, 2 quires, 8 f. (A1) A2 (A3) (A4) B(1) B2 (B3) (B4).

The cover of the book is missing. The text is placed in an ornamental border. The pages are cut down to the border; the present format is 13,5 cm x 17,5 cm.

Only copy known: Uppsala (Sweden), University Library. Shelf mark: Kapsel Biografi Slav. [Kownacki].

c) Editorial Principles

I shall edit the texts here on the basis of the only known copy of the oration printed in Vilnius in 1594.

The number of misprints in the text is very low. I have corrected two grammatical errors which are obviously instances of accidental lapses (*oppresserit* (§38) was spelled with one *s* and *praeoccupari* (§39) — with one *c*).

The original and rather inconsistent and in places unclassical spelling has been kept everywhere. Accents have been removed, abbreviations have been resolved (including *q* with a flourish which has been resolved into *-que*) and the numerous ampersands spelled out as “et”.

In accordance with modern principles I used a modern punctuation (Cf. J. IJsewijn. *Companion to Neo-Latin studies*. Amsterdam 1977¹, p. 222 ff.). The use of capital letters has been left the same as it is in the original text in order to preserve the spirit of the panegyric.

I have divided the text into paragraphs for the sake of convenience. The original edition itself did not contain any paragraphs or subdivisions.

ORATIO IN EXEQUIIS NOBILIS ET GENEROSI ADOLESCENTIS
 ADAUCTI KOWNACKI, STUDIOSI ACADEMIAE VILNENSIS,
 SOCIETATIS IESU, A IACOBO EUCHOLCIO HABITA VILNAE IN
 AEDE SACRA DIVI IOANNIS, AD STUDIOSAM IUVENTUTEM
 III. KALENDAS APRILIS M. D. XC. IV.

(VILNAE, In Officina Societatis Iesu).

(I)

LUDOVICUS WEIHER VALENTINO KOWNACKI S.P.D.

1. MAGNUS usus et necessitudo, tum Brunsbergae, tum Vilnae, mihi cum filio tuo Adaucto Kownacio, cum propter suauiissimos mores, tum propter literarum communionem intercessit. Nihil enim ita solet animos hominum coniungere, sicut naturae morumque similitudo⁴ et studiorum eorundem tractatio. Nec vero viventem solum unice dilexi: sed etiam mortui memoriam deponendam esse non iudicavi. 2. Quem animum meum ut plane perspicias penitusque cognoscas, funebrem ad te Orationem mitto, quae, dum iusta Adaucti Kownacii funeri soluerentur, publice in frequenti conventu literatissimorum hominum, in aede Sacra D. Ioannis, ab honestissimo adolescente Iacobo Eucholcio pronuntiata est. 3. Spero te aliquid solatii, ad tristitiam et maerorem mitigandum, percepturum: quanquam ita forti et constanti animo praeditus es, ut moderate et patienter, haud mediocrem tuae domus calamitatem esse ferendam duxeris. 4. Boni namque consulendum, quidquid vel a Deo, vel a natura parente omnium rerum constitutum est. Nec mirum videri debet, prius liberos quam parentes ex his vinculis corporis⁵ euocari. Non omnibus enim fortuna Q. Metelli contingit, quem multi filii et filiae, nepotes, neptes, in rogam honorifice imposuerunt.⁶ 5. Beati quoque putantur, qui in prima aetate ex hac vitae statione⁷ decedunt. Praeclare Aeschines: "Cum omnibus, inquit, ex aequo mors sit fatalis, non tarde, sed gloriose et bene mori foelicitas est. Nemo parum diu vixit, qui virtutis perfectae,

⁴ Cf. Cic., *De Off.* I 58.

⁵ For the expression "Vincula corporis" (also used by Eucholcius in his *Oratio*, §6) compare Cic., *Sen.* 81; *Tusc.* I 75; *Rep.* VI 14; *Nat. Deor.* II 115. It is a common Platonic image: "vincula" may just mean "bonds" joining the soul to the body, the δεσμοί of Plato, *Timaeus* 42e, 44b, 81D; but there is often the further implication that the body is a prison for the soul.

⁶ Cf. Cic., *Tusc.* I 85: "Metellum enim multi filii, filiae, nepotes, neptes in rogam imposuerunt..."

⁷ Cf. Cic., *Sen.* 73.

perfecto functus est munere”.⁸ 6. Caeterum pergratum tibi fore arbitror, quod pro meo amore et studio, quo mirifice Adauctum prosequabar, hanc ad te funebrem misi Orationem, ut tu potissimum eam haberes, ad quem maeroris pars maxima pertinebat. Vale. Vilnae Idibus Aprilis M. D. XC. IV.

(II)

ORATIO IN EXEQUIIS NOBILIS ET GENEROSI ADOLESCENTIS ADAUCTI KOWNACKI, STUDIOSI ACADEMIAE VILNENSIS SOCIETATIS IESU HABITA.

1. Vellem DEUS immortalis fecisset, lectissimi atque ornatissimi Auditores, ut viuum potius ADAUCTUM KOWNACIUM, nobilem adolescentem haberemus, quam eidem mortuo honores quaereremus. 2. Nam potestis recordari, quantum ingenii viribus et facultate subnixus, usu exercitationeque dicendi perpolitus, forma et specie liberali praeditus, in rebus agendis promptissima quadam celeritate gratus, atque in tantis naturae et fortunae muneribus submissione animi ornatus, oculos omnium recreare ac delectare sua praesentia, atque animos in sui amorem et admirationem potuit pertrahere. 3. Iam autem mortuus, quem fructum, quod commodum, quod solatium potest nobis adferre, quam ut seipsum triste et lugubre exemplum praebeat, ac cunctos mortales ex hoc suo lamentabili feretro, quanquam vitali spiritu priuatus, graviter admoneat: 4. Nihil solidum et constans in rebus esse humanis, nullam aetatem tam firmam atque robustam, nullam tam elegantem et gratam esse speciem corporis, quam ex improviso dies supremus irruens non possit conuellere atque deiicere.

5. Merito igitur Pythagoras, in naturis abditis rerum difficilium illustrandis atque explicandis ingeniosissimus, non minus sapienter quam vere docuit: omnibus hominibus, cuiuscunque sint conditionis et fortunae, fato decretum esse mori,⁹ ut tempestiue integerrimam vitam, modestissimos

⁸ The author erroneously quotes Aeschines. The quotation is found in the *Anthologium* of Iohannes Stobaeus (edd. C. Wachsmuth and O. Hense, Berlin 1912, vol. V, p. 1072, quot. 24-25). It is attributed to Musonius, but follows one ascribed to Aeschines [not the Athenian orator and opponent of Demosthenes, but the 4th c. B. C. philosopher Aeschines Socraticus]. Hence the mistake of Weiher or his source.

⁹ Quotation taken from the *Aurea carmina Pythagorae*. See: *Virgilius collatione scriptorum Graecorum illustratus, opera et industria Fulvii Ursini* (Antverpiae, Ex officina

mores, summam fidem, continentiam, pietatem, innocentiam esse complectendam condiscerent uniuersi. 6. Atque utinam inuigilemus quam diligentissime et excubemus, Auditores optimi, ne imparati ac pietatis atque virtutis ornamentis destituti, ex hoc vitae ergastulo¹⁰ ac vinculis corporis¹¹ a Deo Optimo Maximo euocemur; quod quo commodius fiat a nobis, in hac literatissimorum adolescentum frequentia dicendum est praecipuum studium ad hoc esse conferendum, ut subsidia nobis ad bene moriendum, dum vivimus, comparemus. 7. Vos oro atque obsecro in re maximi momenti attentionem singularem ne denegetis. 8. Quod si mihi a vobis tribui concedique sentiam, perficiam profecto ut non solum tam tristi, tam luctuoso, tamque moesto spectaculo interfuisse, verumetiam cum fructu et emolumento hasce exequias vestri charissimi atque optimi commilitonis ADAUCTI KOWNACII, celebrauisse videamini.

9. More consuetudineque non sapientissimorum modo ac prudentissimorum virorum, sed etiam vulgi et inferioris conditionis hominum esse receptum didicimus in actionibus nimirum humanis et ciuilibus, quo maiores sunt temporis angustiae ad negotium perficiendum, ex quo plurimum vel utilitatis vel incommodi sive in Rempublicam sive in privatas vitae rationes profluit, eo diligentius et acriore studio incumbendum esse, ut non parui momenti negocium, finem suum ac exitum foelicem atque prosperum valeat obtinere. 10. Etenim breuitas temporis cum rei magnitudine coniuncta ita solet mortalium mentes ad neruos et vires intendendas acuere, atque adeo inflammare, ut vix possint aliud quam de negotio transigendo cogitare. 11. Sapientis autem est non solum uti velle in rebus praeclaris temporis opportunitate et comoda occasione, verumetiam, cum in breve temporis spatium nostrae concluduntur actiones, solícite atque summa vigilantia easdem expedire, ac salutari fine atque exitu terminare.

12. Praeclarum igitur fuisse consilium clarissimi et eloquentissimi viri Demosthenis arbitror, cum Atheniensibus ancipiti deliberatione distractis Olynthios in amicitiam et societatem, quam per Oratores suos postulabant, recipiendos esse suasit.¹² 13. Videbat enim vir prudentia praeditus

Chr.Plantini, anno 1567): Χρυσῆ ἔπη Πυθαγόρου, pp. 36-38. Modern edition in: *Anthologia lyrica Graeca*. Edidit E. Diehl (Lipsiae, 1940³), fasc. 2, pp. 82-90: Pseudo-Pythagoras. Carmina Aurea, lines 15-16.

¹⁰ An expression borrowed from patristic literature. Compare Ambr., *Exc. Sat.* 2, 20; Aug., *Civ.* XI 23, Prud., *Perist.* 5. 358; Heges. V 53.1, p. 409, 5; Faustus Rei., *Epist.* 5, p. 188,7; Verec., *Satisf.* 146.

¹¹ See note 3 above.

¹² Dem., *Olynth.* I

singulari, non esse rerum occasiones negligendas, et tempus idoneum et breve maiori cura, labore, studioque perficiendis negotiis impartendum. 14. Nunc autem, cum natura breue admodum nobis viuendi spatium circumscripserit et nostri metas curriculi haud procul collocauerit, atque ab ipsis animantibus brutis vitae nos superari diuturnitate permiserit, nonne quidquid est Diuini numinis munere ac beneficio concessum temporis, ad praesidia quibus in morte non modo muniti, verumetiam plane tuti et incolumes simus, conquienda quam studiosissime conferemus? Siccine dies paucos, quos adhuc diuinitus nobis donari videmus, sine fructu et emolumento, praeterlabi sinemus? 15. Equidem mors non tardat et, ut aiunt divinae literae: “Homo fugit velut umbra”.¹³

16. Scite Chrysostomus, vir cum in dicendo copiosissimus, in permovendis animis vehementissimus, in exponendis diuinis literis argutissimus, tum vero in virtutibus exercendis studiosissimus, dixit: “Non secus habere se hanc vitam, quam somnium quoddam et scenam, qua sublata, omnes rerum varietates tollerentur, utque oriente sole tolluntur insomnia, sic in fine vitae cuncta euanescere et ad nihilum recidere; arborem quidem plantatam et insitam domumque aedificatam diutius perstare, artificem autem qui construxit et agricolam qui plantauit, cito ex hoc caetu et frequentia mortalium fatali quadam necessitate semigrare ac secedere”.¹⁴ 17. Nec minus vere omnis sanctitatis atque eruditionis lumen et ornamentum Augustinus testatum reliquit: “Ipsa, inquit, longa hominis vita tanta breuitate constringitur, ut ad universum seculum, tanquam una gutta ad immensam maris amplitudinem comparetur”.¹⁵

18. Sic est, Auditores: ex hac vita discedimus tanquam ex hospitio,¹⁶ non tanquam ex domo: commorandi enim nobis natura diuersorium, non habitandi dedit. 19. Dies aetatis nostrae celeriter velut umbra fugiunt, repente ceu fumus deficiunt, velocius praetereunt quam ab opifice tela succiditur. 20. Xerxes ille magnus Rex potentissimusque, qui montes subuertit, maria constrauit, flumina exhausit, cum e sublimi loco, infinitam hominum multitudinem et innumerabiles vidisset copias, fertur lachrymasse, quod post centesimum annum nullus eorum, quos tunc cernebat, superfuturus esset. 21. Quod si super altissimam liceret speculam

¹³ *Vulg.*, Liber Iob 14.1-2.

¹⁴ A paraphrase of John Chrysostom's *In Epist. I ad Timoth. 5*, homil. 15.3.

¹⁵ *Aug.*, *Civ.* XII 13.

¹⁶ For “hospitium” as “mundus tamquam temporarium habitaculum” or “terra, quae christianis ad patriam caelestem migrantibus hospitium tantum est”, see *ThLL*, coll. 3041, 76 ff.

ascendere, Auditores studiosissimi, ex cuius fastigio terram videremus uniuersam, iam totius mundi ruinas, gentes gentibus, Reges Regibus, regna regnis intueremur contemplaremurque quassata et collisa; alios etiam torqueri, alios necari, alios fluctibus absorberi, alios in acie occumbere cerneremus. 22 Hic laeticiam, ibi planctum esse, hos nasci, illos subito mori, alios diuitiis aliquanto tempore affluere, alios inopia premi atque ad interitum labi voluntarium animaduverteremus.¹⁷

23. Vincitur sermo rei magnitudine, et minus est quod dicimus. Quotidie morimur, quotidie commutatur, et tamen hic aeternos esse nos et immortales credimus?¹⁸ 24. Ergo cum breuibis admodum vita uniuscuiusque sit terminis circumscripta, id non agemus ut parati et meditati ad finem vitae et exitum accedamus? 25. Siccine momentum hoc et punctum temporis,¹⁹ ex quo pendet aeternitas, in rebus ludicris, fragilibus, caducis, atque obliuionem rerum immortalium in animum inducentibus consumemus? 26. Adeone auulsi et abstracti a contemplatione aetatis breuissimae erimus, et imparatos, inermes ac nulla virtute munitos derepente ac nec opinantes dies supremus circumueniat ac plane obruat? 27. Adeone e memoria excidet et elabetur perinde utilis et necessaria vitae fragilis ac breuissimae contemplatio, ut longius aeuum et diuturnam hic mansionem nobis polliceamur et destinemus, cum quid serus vesper vehat, scire nequeamus?²⁰ 28. Nolite quaeso, atque obsecro, nolite in tam altum, tam profundum tamque periculosum soporem incidere, quo oppressi, insanas et turbulentas animorum affectiones mature non esse declinandas putetis.

29. Ac aetatis quidem breve et minime protentum interuallum ad subsidia comparanda, quibus in extrema animi et corporis disiunctione uti liceat, nos excitat. 30. Quod dicam de variis et subitis casibus ac procellis quibus eadem hominum vita obsidetur, oppugnatur, capitur. 31. Nonne ut solícite, ut anxie, ut accurate vitae nostrae rationes dispiciamus, utque in iis ad viam rectam et planam, tempore antequam quispiam casus interueniat, et lucem hanc nobis eripiat, deducendis, operam et studium ponamus admonemur? 32. Quis autem ex omni hominum aetate, ordine,

¹⁷ §§20-24 are partly a verbal quotation and partly a paraphrase of St. Jerome, *Epist.* 60, 18.6-19.

¹⁸ St. Jerome, *Epist.* 60, 19.3-4: "Cotidie morimur, cotidie commutatur et tamen aeternos esse nos credimus?" Cf. Seneca, *Epist.* 24.20: "Cotidie morimur; cotidie enim demitur aliqua pars vitae".

¹⁹ For the combination of "momentum et punctum temporis" see Hier., *In Eph.* 4.22; Prud., *Paneg.* 56.2; Ps. Ambr., *Paenit.* 2, p. 973C.

²⁰ Cf. Varro, *Sat. Men.* 333 (Buecheler) apud Aul. Gell., *N. A.* XIII 11: "Nescis quid vesper serus vehat".

genere reperietur, cui casus aliquando ad eripiendam vitam non immineat atrociter, non impendeat misere, non appropinquet periculose? 33. Nam quemadmodum noua fictilia vasa perinde sunt exposita corruptionis periculo ac vetera, ita adolescentes florenti aetate ac vigore omnium sensuum atque promptitudine ad res obeundas et perficiendas praediti, peraeque mortis acerbitate ac vehementia concidunt et franguntur, ac homines qui vel senio debilitati, vel longinquitate morbi sunt defessi.

34. Adeo quaelibet aetas subiectam se mortis dimicationi et contentioni experitur. Non enim ea lege nati viuimus ut ad summam senectutem pertingere sit necesse. 35. Quod cum ita sit, nolite quaeso, ea spe freti, virtutes sanctissimas et religionis amorem negligentius comparare. Quidquid datur ad viuendum temporis, id lucro apponite.²¹ 36. Magno errore ducitur et vehementer, mihi credite, fallitur, qui normam recte ac laudabiliter agendi in extremam differt aetatem, nec iuuentutis suae insperatos repentinosque casus et prolapsiones reformidat. 37. Ut enim si in officinam quispiam ingressus, in qua vasa finguntur lutea, mensam vasis fictilibus partim recens factis, partim antiquioribus refertam videret, atque ex artifice quodam istorum fictilium citius frangetur, et suae amittet formae pulchritudinem quaereret, id feret ab eo responsi: vas illud prius fractum iri, quod in terram prius delapsum fuerit. Sic equidem cum hominum genere et aetate agi videmus. 38. Nam ex hac vitae atque lucis excedit communione, et in externas ac longe disiunctas migrat regiones, non qui fuerit aetate prouectior et antiquior, sed quem casus repentinus et improuisus oppresserit, et minimè sperata vis morbi ex hoc vitae amplissimo theatro expulerit atque exturbarit. 39. Et quemadmodum accidit eos, qui iter faciunt et sermones varios miscent ac ultro citroque tempus colloquiis fallunt, dum minime cogitant, solis occasu praecipitante, antequam ad locum praefixum perveniant, luce destitui et tenebris increbrescentibus praeoccupari, ita mors incautos ex improviso plurimos, de cuius aduentu tantum abest ut cogitauerint, ut ne suspicati sint quidem, adoritur.

40. Atque utinam, Auditores nobilissimi, nec punctum temporis ad bene et honeste in integritate pulchritudineque conscientiae moriendum simus imparati. 41. Optarem auctori et parenti omnis naturae Deo, optarem, inquam, cum ea qua par est sanctimonia ac innocentia animum, quocumque casu, seu repentino, seu praeuiso, auulsum a corpore pie et religiose redderemus, illudque quod bonus et frugi famulus faciendum

²¹ Cf. Hor., *Carm.* I 9.14-15: "Quem Fors dierum cumque dabit lucro / Appone, nec dulces amores..."

sibi cogitat, vel potius decernit, faceremus. Nam cum se ab hero suo, cui obsequium praestabat, dimittendum et ablegandum animadvertit, prior ipse praeueniens herum, sponte et ultro postulat missionem. 42. Hoc siquidem honestius esse et consultius iudicat, ut non tam eiectum, quam decenter se ab obsequiis liberatum palam cuius interroganti respondere possit. Sic cum haec vita mortalis certissime ac fortassis ex insperato desertura nos sit ac derelictura, satius est ut eius amore deposito, lenociniis repudiatis, suauitate contempta, ad relinquendam eam paratissimi ac promptissimi inueniamur, nostrique officii putemus esse manere in vigilia perenni, neque oculos a pietate et religione deiicere, cum tempus ignoremus occasus nostri atque interitus. 43. Age vero, num se vixisse verè dicere potest, qui viciis, qui sceleribus, qui flagitiis aetatem suam per annos complures turpissime infecit ac nefarie contaminauit?

44. Sicut enim ille, quem saeva tempestas a portu exceptum huc atque illuc vi ventorum undique ex aduerso furentium per eadem maris spatia in orbem egit, non multum nauigasse, sed multum iactatus esse dicitur, sic qui variis in criminibus et sceleribus vitam suam tanquam in orbe quodam turpiter circumegit et nequiter finiuit, non tam vixisse diu, quam diu hic fuisse dici debet. 45. Illa, illa demum vera vita et hominis dicenda est, quae in rectissimis et laudatissimis virtutibus ab ineunte aetate usque ad extremum spiritum consumitur. Quam ut egisse vere videamini, Auditores, per Deum immortalem oro, remittite nuncium improbitati; cum virtute necessitudinem et coniunctionem institute; frena cupiditatibus iniicite; amorem rerum conditarum in ipsummet conditorem et authorem potentissimum et sapientissimum omnium rerum Deum transfundere contendite. 46. Ille enim bene et suauiter moritur, qui semper studio singulari ad extremum cum morte conflictum sese, dum vixit, comparauit.

47. At si numen Diuinum, immortale ac aeternum non ex qualibet aetate et conditione homines ad mortem destinaret, sed tantummodo aetatis viros grauioris ad deserendum hanc miseram et calamitosam vitam cogeret atque impelleret, profecto, qui adolescentiae et iuuentutis tempus minimè excessimus, secure et desidiose in cura nostri animi versari possemus et, tanquam ultimus procul distaret terminus, remissemus et negliger de fine ultimo vitae cogitaremus, et de vigiliis atque excubiis, quas Servator uniuersi orbis maximus mortalium generi consulit, remitteremus; sin autem certissimum est, ulli aetati mortalium non modo non ignosci, sed etiam cunctos homines sub iura mortis, tam pueros et adolescentes, quam iuuenes ac viros trahi, quid faciendum esse nobis existimabimus? 48. Quo curas et cogitationes conuertemus? Quem ad finem haec in

nobis pernicioſa ſecuritas permanebit? 49. Certe “omnes eodem cogimur; omnium verſatur urna ſerius ocyus”, ut ait excellens Poeta, †ſit† “exitura”;²² “omne capax mouet urna nomen; ſortitur inſignes et imos”;²³ “mors non parcit imbellis iuuentae poplitibus”;²⁴ “miſta ſenum ac iuuenum denſantur funera”.²⁵ 50. Et tamen nos periculi non commouet magnitudo! Fiducia virium corporis erigit ac extollit; adoleſcentiae et iuuentutis ardor ſperare iubet longiora; negligere integritatem animi et in aliud tempus patitur differre!

51. Sed ne longinqua et externa aliunde ſumamus exempla, te unum alloquor, ADAUCTE KOWNACKI, et quidem tritiſ ac pene ſuffuſus lachrymis te, inquam, alloquor, quem in aetate florentiſſima, in ipſo curſu induſtriae tuae, cum arcem et faſtigium Eloquentiae²⁶ prehendere conarere, cum inter aequales nauiter, et quam ſtudioſiſſime officiū tuum, cum dignitate tuerere, ex inſperato aggreſſa eſt corporis aegrotatio, quae breui tempore te iuuenem ex Academiae conſpectu ſummo cunctorum dolore commilitonum violenter abripuit. 52. Tu equidem caeteris adoleſcentibus tuo exemplo praecripiſti non annis iuuenilibus, non integris viribus, non ſcientia et optimarum artium ſtudiis glorian-dum, ſed, quantumuiſ haec ſint in quolibet adoleſcentum maxima, apparatus quendam virtutum ſingularem, quarum praefidio in fine ultimo atque exitu vitae tuti et muniti ſimus, inſtituendum eſſe. 53. Iam tuus decor, o ADAUCTE chariſſime, iacet hoc feretro triti et ſqualido; iam forma et ſpecies liberaliſ contabuit; iam viuiduſ et pene roſeuſ ille color e vultu cecidit; iam omnes partes corporis ſordescunt; iam vermium multitudi-ne ſcatent; iam lingua quondam diſerta torpet; iam omniſ induſtria ſopita concidit; iam te familiares tui atque amici vix ſine horrore aſpicere poſſunt. 54. Quam cito illa omnia, quae in bonis corporis numerari ſolent, forma, vires, celeritas, in tantam venere abiecti-onem! O miſeros homineſ, qui haec caduca, fragilia, interitui ſubiecta munera pluſ aequo, cum in ſeipſiſ, tum in aliis admirantur ac diligunt! O inconſultam animi temeritatem, quae hiſce, infaelix, bonis inanibuſ nimium detinetur!

55. Videte, oro, Auditoreſ humaniſſimi, et animiſ veſtriſ conſilium ſalutare et neceſſarium maximi et clariſſimi Doctoriſ Eccleſiae

²² Hor., *Carm.* II 3. 25-27, where one reads “ſors exitura”.

²³ Hor., *Carm.* III 1. 15-16, quoted in reuerſed order.

²⁴ Hor., *Carm.* III 2. 13-15.

²⁵ Hor., *Carm.* I 28. 29.

²⁶ A combination of Tacituſ, *Dial.* 10.5 (“arx eloquentiae”) and Quintilian XII 1.20 and XII 11.28 (“faſtigium eloquentiae”).

Augustini penitus mandate, qui homines bonis hisce caducis affluentes, ad considerationem supremi diei atque contemplationem, reuocat. 56 “Si te, inquit, de diuitiis et honoribus ac nobilitate iactas, si formae venustate et corporis pulchritudine gloriaris, respice teipsum, quia terra es, et in puluerem commutaberis. Circumspice, ait, qui similibus fulsere splendoribus. Ubi sunt qui ambiebant currum triumphalem? Ubi sunt qui conuentus hominum agebant, et ludorum festos dies celebrabant? Ubi nunc eorum vestes et ornamenta peregrina? Ubi nunc seruorum turba? Ubi iocus? Ubi laetitia? Ubi exercituum duces, principes, tyranni? Nonne cuncti puluis et umbra sumus? Inspice sepulchra eorum, et vide quis seruus, quis dominus, quis locuples, quis egenus; discerne, si potes, victum a Rege, fortem a debili, pulchrum a deformi; vide si in eius cadauere est aliquod pristinae signum iactantiae”.²⁷ Haec sane verissima est innocentissimi et grauissimi viri sententia.

57. Idcirco vosipsi, Auditores lectissimi, tacitis animi sensibus expendite ac iudicate, quam sit periculosa cunctatio et tergiuersatio, non mature quietem et tranquillitatem optimae quaerere conscientiae, quae superueniente repentino mortis casu possit animum mentemque consolari et omni desperatione liberare, atque in conspectu seuerissimi mortalium cunctorum iudicis incolumes et saluos collocare. 58. Sed proh dolor, etiamsi caeteros ex hac vita in iuuenilibus annis excedere animaduertimus, tamen quodammodo nos mortales esse non cogitamus ac ne idem nobis paulo post accadat minime pertimescimus, nec ad eluendas vitiorum sordes animum adiicimus, perindeque nobis accidit ac nauibus duabus, quae in alto mari contra se plenis velis remisque contendunt. 59. Quemadmodum enim cum una alteram praeteruehitur, utrique quod ipsamet firma consistat et altera celeriter praetereat videtur, cum tamen reuera ambae velocem aequae cursum teneant; ita complures profecto sunt homines, qui seipsos quasi immortales putant et firmos ac stabiles esse existimant, atque adeo quotidie se mori et debilitari non sentiunt.

60. Imitandi sunt potius ii viri, qui sanctimonia, qui constantia, qui fide caeterisque virtutibus praestantissimis, clarissimam lucem etiam post obitum suum nobis reliquerunt, et vitae degendae ac recte moriendi perfectum exemplar et documentum tradiderunt. 61. Si enim illi Basili, Chrysostomi, Hieronymi, Augustini, Bernardi, Antonii et alii sexcenti ad supremum diem mortis, ad dimicationem extremam, ad luctam terribilem summa cura et studio vehementi seipsos non comparauiissent,

²⁷ This text cannot be found in St. Augustine, but it contains a reminiscence of Gen. 3.19 (“in puluerem reverteris”).

certe liceret fortassis etiam nobis indormire huic tanto tamque arduo negotio, nec operam nauare singularem; sin autem diligentissimos in stadio vitae huius conficiendo et cursu ad portum dirigendo sapientes et fortes cognoscimus extitisse, intelligitis quid a nobis requiratur. 62. Nimirum illi nihil tam in omnibus suis actionibus spectauerunt, quam ut nullo se se grauiore crimine implicarent ac irretirent, tempusque mortis parati et instructi expectarent. Quid ita? Nam ii demum maximo et incredibili sub finem vitae suae solatio perfruuntur, quos conscientiae vis eo tempore non redarguit ac refellit, fitque munificentia ac liberalitate Dei Optimi Maximi infinita ut ii soli tanquam frugi vigilantesque serui praemium excubiarum in aeternis domiciliis longe uberrimum consequantur. 63. Quid vero de iis censendum est, qui turpiter et nefarie hanc fabulam aetatis suae peragunt? Vix fieri potest ut bene moriantur.

64. Praeclare enim Lactantius, insigni doctrina excultus atque expolitus, testatum monimentis posteritati reliquit: "Sicut, inquit, ipsa vita bonum est, si cum virtute coniungitur, sic vita malum est, si cum scelere traducitur, ac proinde mors ex praeteritis vitae actionibus est aestimanda. Si enim vita in cultu diuino atque pietatis studiis fuerit transacta, mors malum non sit necesse est; sin secus, malum erit, nosque ad extrema mittet supplicia".²⁸ 65. O praestantissimum in re maximi momenti testimonium! Quid verius? quid clarius? quid accommodatius ab eo viro dici potuit? quid magis vestrum animum percellere potest, quid pectus effodere quam cum recordamini in morte periculose eum conflictari secum, quem nullam in vita cum vitiis pugnam et dimicationem certum est suscepisse. 66. Foelices eos mortales, qui inter sua emolumenta numerant et reponunt, non solum frequenter refricare eius temporis memoriam, quo animus a corpore digreditur et tam arcta coniunctio dissoluitur, dum corpus terram spectat, animus autem ad iudicis iustissimi conspectum rapitur, verumetiam ea meditatione et consideratione sui exitus, uniuersas vitae suae rationes ita gubernant et administrant, ut pisces in aquis cursum suum et volucres in aere volatum extrema parte corporis sui tanquam gubernaculo quodam dirigere solent.

67. Et vero ipsemet ADAUCTUS KOWNACKI, quem moesti et tristes excessisse e vita doletis, cuius funeri iusta cum gemitu ac lachrymis cuncti soluitis, quem mandari sepulturae aspicitis, si loqui posset, apud vos hisce vocibus uteretur: "Ego, cui fortuna non solum genus nobile, verumetiam natura ingenium elegans, memoriam excellentem, formam

²⁸ Compare Lact., *Div. Inst.* III 19B.

ac speciem non vulgarem, celeritatem ad agendum mirificam largita est, cui non postremas dotes ad Eloquentiae facultatem atque ad ornate dicendum necessarias liberaliter et copiose eadem natura communicavit, usus autem et exercitatio naturae munera mediocriter perpoliuit; ego, inquam, ex hac vitae scena in adolescentia florentissima (quandoquidem ita summo ac praepotenti cunctorum mortalium imperatori et principi Deo placuit) semigraui, eoque in regiones metuendas et admodum formidabiles, per quas euntem me amicorum comitatur nemo, ad iudicis seueri tribunal venio, ubi quid mihi sententia aequissima sit euenturum, nescio. 68. Utinam ad homines, a quibus discessi, potestas reuertendi daretur! Equidem posthabito fluxarum et volubilium rerum amore, contempta leuitate, spreta immoderatione, non laxe et remisse aeuum exigerem, sed seuerè et grauiter meas expenderem actiones; non familiaritati et necessitudini importunae studerem, sed numen diuinum quod toti orbi praesidet, religione summa colerem; non viam praecipitem et lubricam adolescentum dissolutorum inirem, sed me legibus sanctissimis perpetuo conseruandis traderem ac dicarem. 69. Heu me infoelicem, qui aestu adolescentiae abreptus, me serio diuinis rebus multo ante mortis aduentum non addixi et consecraui! qui tempus pretiosissimum, in quo ampliorem Dei Optimi Maximi gratiam potui promereri, pro nihilo duxi! 70. Quare vos, vos inquam, serio me negligentiam perniciosam deplorantem audite, ac meo exemplo et casu permoti, ita viuite, ut voluptates pestiferas fugiatis, amorem mundi detestemini, de ratione bene moriendi cogitetis”.

71. His si vocibus ADAUCTUS KOWNACKI vos alloquatur, Auditores studiosissimi, quis vestrum non pertimescat? Quis calamitate tanti ac tam egregii adolescentis conturbatus, confestim ac nulla interposita mora ad seipsum non redeat? 72. Mihi credite, Auditores humanissimi, mortuus quidem est optima spe et indole praeditus adolescens, ADAUCTUS KOWNACIUS, sed unumquemque nostrum fortasse Diuina et infinita Maiestas commonefacere eius abscessu voluit, quam infirmi, quam fragiles, quam imbecilli simus, quos citius quam intra diem septimum ex hac aspectabili mortalium luce paulo acrior et vehementior morbus et aegrotatio potest exturbare.

(III)

AD MANES DEMORTUI ADAUCTI KOWNACKI APOSTROPHE.

THOMAS KARLOWSKI

- 1 Sic inopinus abis, sociosque relinquis, ADAUCTE,
Lux KOWNACIACAE magna futura domus?

- Sic ruis ante diem, viridique fatiscis in aeuo,
 Flos Ciceronaei non inhonore fori?
- 5 Non genus ingeniumue sagax, non forma, nec aetas
 Tam florens Atropi vim cohibere queant?
 Te sacra Mnemosyne sobolesque nouena peremptum
 Moesta flet, et Clarii praeses Apollo chori.
 Te Litaui lugent electrilegique²⁹ Borussi,
- 10 Quos mouet ingenii spesque vigorque tui:
 Brunoris urbs³⁰ luget te, Pessaridesque Camoenae,³¹
 Quarum annos aliquot fidus alumnus eras,
 Villiadumque³² phalanx violis, prece, thure, piaculis,
 Flebilibus decorant et tua busta modis.
- 15 Ac tibi Nestoreum locat hunc Polyhymnia cippum,
 Nec tua Sarmaticis fama silescat agris.

(IV)

IN STEMMA NOBILIS ADOLESCENTIS ADAUCTI KOWNACKI.

BARTHOLOMEUS RADZIMINOWICZ

- Gentili lituum pro Stemmata gessit ADAUCTUS,
 Cur ita? conueniens omen, opinor, inest:
 Nempe Maronaeis lituis Heroas et arma,
 Gestaque coelituum dicere doctus erat,
- 5 Tulliacisque tubis causas orare disertus,
 Testis Athaeneum conscia Vilna tuum:
 Virtutum nutrix ab eo, Submissio mentis
 Quam fuit appositis percelebrata modis?
 Nuperus Haereticos quae fulmina torsit in hostes
- 10 Iustitiae immemores iudiciiue Dei?
 Ter faelix, sanctum tuba cui suprema timorem
 Insinuat: res est relligiosa timor;
 Hoc ubi verba super fecisset Adauctus, ut ipsa
 Re, quod erat fatus, rite probaret, obit.

²⁹ "electrilegus": collecting amber. *Addendum lexicis*.³⁰ Brunoris urbs: Braniewo / Braunsberg.³¹ Pessarides: maybe the Muses [viz. the school] of the East-Prussian town of Pisz / Johannisburg.³² Villiades: the students of Vilnius.

(V)

ACADEMIAE QUESTUS.

IOANNES MILECKI

- Effera Morta meas celeri cur falce Camoenas
 Contemeras toties, Pieriosque choros?
 Vulneris accepti nondum mihi clausa cicatrix
 Est prior, alterius vulneris ecce dolor:
 5 Cum mihi tam subito rapitur KOWNACIUS arte
 Eloquii, forma, nobilis ingenio.
 Ah quoties gemitus dabis o studiosa iuuentus,
 Ah quoties lacrymas huius amore dabis?
 Ah quoties dices: "ubi iam requiescis, ADAUCTE?
 10 Quo sub sidere agis? te locus ecquis habet?"
 Ah quoties repetes: "sit Olympus adauctus Adaucto?
 Nos cinis afflictos eius et urna leuet".

(VI)

UMBRA.

GULHIELMUS SOTERONUS ANGLUS.

- Terrea deserui penetralia, adauctus Olympo
 Nunc meliora colo: ne mea fata gemas;
 Tramite quo? rogitas? haud per mala gaudia vulgi
 Huc feror, at placitum per pietatis iter.
 5 Qui sapis, o vegeti ne crede coloribus aeui,
 Formae, opibus, generi: Mors cita quaeque metit.

(VII)

ETEOSTICHON.

ANDREAS ROCHMANIUS NIESWIEZIENSIS.

MartIUs OCtaVVs ConCLaVe reLIqVere Labens
 Te probe KOWnaCI per stata fata IVbet.

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UNNOTICED CONTEMPORARY ANALOGUES
OF *KING LEAR* AND *CYMBELINE*
BY JOHN ROSS OF THE INNER TEMPLE (1606)

Coinciding with Shakespeare's theatrical career is a rekindled interest in Geoffrey of Monmouth's legendary kings of Britain, an interest which the plays under discussion must also have helped to foster. Among the neglected texts on this topic are some Latin poems on Geoffrey's kings which may have a bearing on these plays, perhaps helping with chronology, certainly casting some light on contemporary reception of the stories that both Shakespeare and this Latin author represent.

In 1607 in Frankfurt the London lawyer John Ross had published a collection of poems on the ancient kings, written in elegiac couplets, entitled *Britannica, sive de Regibus Veteris Britanniae usque ad Exitium Gentis et Saxonum Imperium*. Omission from the *STC* has guaranteed the book's obscurity. Except for brief mention in Bradner's *Musae Anglicanae* and T. D. Kendrick's book on the vogue of Geoffrey, Ross has met with oblivion, until the publication in 1991 of his *Poems on Events of the Day, 1582-1607*.¹

Personal information in the latter collection of poems supports the possibility that Ross knew or knew of Shakespeare: he had several friends in the Earl of Essex's entourage; he addresses a poem to the famous Twelfth-night visitor, Virginio Orsino Duke of Bracciano; he was a long-time friend to the Earls of Rutland, including the sixth earl, with whom Shakespeare was acquainted. Ross, a Buckinghamshire native a year older than Shakespeare, attended Westminster school, the preparatory inn of chancery called Lyons Inn, and the Inner Temple,

¹ For details of Ross's life and for poems other than *Britannica*, which has had no edition since Ross, see *Poems on Events of the Day, 1582-1607*, ed. Richard F. Hardin (Delmar, NY: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints 1991); brief notices are in Leicester Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae* (New York, 1940), pp. 39-40, and T. D. Kendrick, *British Antiquity* (London, 1950) 100.

where records show him in residence at various points from 1584 until his death in November 1607. His will indicates friendships with several luminaries, including Edward Coke, William Camden, and Margaret Clifford Countess of Cumberland.

Britannica, an octavo volume, also exists in a Bodleian manuscript (Bodl. MS 573) containing passages in Ross's hand, along with a licensing statement signed by Owen Gwyn on 3 December 1606, which helps set the date for his poems. Since *King Lear* was performed at court on 26 December of that year, with public performance perhaps a year earlier, it is inviting to compare Ross's version of the Lear story with those of Shakespeare and his sources to consider whether there are any indications that Ross knew Shakespeare's adaptation:²

² Ross, *Britannica* (Frankfurt, 1607), pp. 14-15.

DE CORDELLAE PIETATE IN PATREM LEIRUM SECUNDUM.

Chara fuit Genorilla patri, et Regana Leiri
 Deliciae, regnum dividit hisce suum.
 Quippe patrem fingunt ardentem amare; Leirus
 Credidit (ut nimis est credulus omnis amor).
 Confectum senio tamen hunc diademate privant,
 Hospitio prohibent, exilioque premunt.
 At Cordella, suum quae fingere nescit amorem,
 Displacuit graviter simplicitate patri.
 Hennino Regana duci, Genorilla Maglanno
 Nubit; Cornubiae is, Scotiae hic est dominus. 10
 Tertiam Aganippus ducit Rex Gallicus, at cui
 Nulla fuit thalami dos, nisi dos sit amor.
 Sola viro est faelix, sed regno, patre, sorore
 Infaelix (ita si tale quid esse potest).
 Deserit hanc genitor, qui post desertus et ipse,
 Ex aliis patitur, quod facit ipse, malum.
 Privatus sceptro, breviatis inde ministris,
 Indiget hospitio Rex, pater, isque senex,
 Vestibus attritis, non ut qui fingeret esse
 Se miserum, cum non sit, sed et illud erat. 20
 Sic inquam senio, sic paupertate laborans
 Rex (at mendicus) Gallica regna petit.
 Ut patris aduentum Cordella intelligit, o quam
 Gaudet, et ex animo gestit adesse senem!
 Fluctuat huc illuc variis mens motibus, ut cui
 Gaudia cum tacito mixta pudore forent:
 Ardet adire patrem, mox vero accersere mallet,
 Sed quod posterius pectore volvit, agit.
 Magnificas mittit vestes, celeresque quadrigas,
 Et, qui stiparent (ut decuit), famulos. 30
 Sic restauratus Rex sese accingit ad aulam,
 Et cupit amplecti quam prius abnuerat.
 Praeteriti Cordella memor ne sit, timet, et non
 Vana timet, nam sic causa timere fuit.
 Illa (quod est vere generosum) cuncta remittit,
 Utque oblita rei, tale nihil memorat.
 Conveniunt, lachrymis miscentur et oscula, quales
 Saepe cadunt imbres, sole micante, leves.
 Post epulas genitor vindictae haud immemor, arma
 Expetit, et natae sollicitavit opem. 40
 Quid multis opus est? verbum satis esto; Leirum
 Instruit armatis, regnaque restituit.

Nata rejecta patrem recipit, dilecta repellit:
 Quam fovet, illa fugat; quam fugat, illa fovet.
 Totus ad hanc mundus convertat lumina; maior
 In patrem pietas non fuit, est, vel erit.

On the Loyalty of Cordella to her Father Leir the Second

Dear was Genorill to her father, and Regan was Leir's delight; he divided his kingdom between them. They pretended to love their father dearly; Lear believed them (as every love is too credulous). They took the crown from him, however, weakened by old age; they forbade him lodging, and forced him into exile. But Cordella, who did not know how to pretend her love, seriously displeased her father with her simplicity. Regan was married to Henninus, Genorill to Maglannus — (10) one lord of Cornwall, the other of Scotland. The French king Aganippus married the third, but received no dowry unless the dowry was love. She alone was lucky in her husband, but (if there can be such a thing) unlucky in kingdom, father, sister. Her father abandoned her, who was later himself abandoned; he suffered the evil from others that he committed himself. Deprived of scepter, reduced in attendants, this king, father, old man, stood in need of shelter — clothing in rags, not pretending to be (20) poor when he was not, but poor. Thus, I say, laboring with old age, with poverty, the king (yet beggar) went to the kingdom of France. When Cordella heard of her father's arrival, O how she rejoiced, rejoiced in her heart that the old man was there! With diverse motions her mind was tossed here and there as one for whom joy would mingle with silent modesty: she longed to go to her father but then wanted to call him to her. She considered the latter, and did so. She sent magnificent clothes, swift carriages, (30) and to accompany him, as was fitting, servants. Thus restored, the king came to the court and desired to embrace her whom he earlier denied. He feared that Cordella would recall the past, and feared not in vain, for there was reason to fear thus. She forgave all (which was truly generous), and as forgetful of the matter, remembered nothing of it. They met, tears and kisses mingled as often light rains fall while the sun is shining. After a feast the father, not unmindful of vengeance, longed for arms (40) and asked his daughter's aid. What more need be said? Let it suffice that she furnished Leir with an army and restored the kingdom. The rejected daughter received her father, the loved one rejected him. She whom he loved chased him away; she whom he chased away loved him. Let all the world's eyes regard her. Greater loyalty to a father never was, is, or shall be.

Obviously what interests Ross is Cordelia's loyalty or *pietas*, mentioned both in the title and at the end. Many omissions from Geoffrey — and Ross's main source is definitely Geoffrey, as seems unlikely with Shakespeare — can be explained by the desire to underscore this point. To be noted are the following details that are not in Geoffrey, and that might have been suggested to Ross by a viewing of the play, whose stage history before December 1606 is not clear.

1. The refusal of *hospitium*, which I translate as "lodging", is not in Geoffrey or Holinshed (who follows Geoffrey rather closely), or other earlier versions such as Spenser's or that in *The Mirror for Magistrates*. In the anonymous *Leir* play, the king has housing and one faithful attendant, being driven to France when he discovers that the daughters have hired a man to kill him. The violation of hospitality, one of the extreme instances of cruelty in Shakespeare's play, is likely to have imprinted itself on an audience's memory.

2. Cordelia's simplicity, *simplicitas*, her utter frankness in answering her father, is not so labeled in Geoffrey. Shakespeare calls this "plainness", and the anonymous play speaks of Cordelia's "playne meaning" (B2). Spenser's version in *Faerie Queene* mentions Cordelia's "simple answer" (II.x.28), and in view of Ross's love of Spenser I suspect that *simplicitas* was the result of both seeing Shakespeare's Cordelia and reviewing his Spenser before writing the poem.

3. The image of Lear's "clothing in rags" *before* his going to Cordelia is unique to Shakespeare and Ross. Geoffrey says that when Lear went to France he was shocked to find that he was ranked only third among the boat passengers; after arriving, Lear "non habebat quid commederet vel indueret" (had nothing to eat nor clothes to put on).³ The anonymous playwright represents Leir and his faithful Perillus exchanging their expensive clothes for the plain sailors' garb in order to pay for their passage across the Channel.

4. A good part of Ross's small poem concentrates on the emotive dimension of the story. Geoffrey is silent about the emotions surrounding the reunion, though these are carefully worked into the anonymous play. Unlike the author of that play, both Ross and Shakespeare isolate Cordelia from her husband at this meeting. None of the other stories center on the two figures in quite this way. Ross's combination of tears and kisses, rain and sunshine, could well have been suggested by the alternating joy

³ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, ed. Acton Griscom (London, 1929), p. 268 (II.xii). Ross probably read one of the editions of Geoffrey by Josse Bade (Paris 1508, 1517), since he quotes a preface to this text by Ivo Cavellatus.

and remorse either in Shakespeare's or the anonymous play's scene. But a significant verbal resemblance exists in Shakespeare's

You have seen
Sunshine and rain at once. Her smiles and tears
Were like a better way (IV.iii.17-19).

There are, of course, some major differences between Shakespeare's and all other versions of the story, Ross's included. Lear journeys to France in all the other versions, while Shakespeare sets the reunion in England on the eve of the battle near Dover. Most exceptionally, of course, Shakespeare doubles the pathos of the original story. After the powerful scene of recognition between father and daughter when Lear awakes, comes the crushing, wholly unexpected ending unique to Shakespeare. Like Spenser, Ross recognizes the original story as more about Cordelia than Lear. This is not a story of an abused father but a parable of filio piety and a daughter's love — so much so that Ross scarcely mentions Lear's triumphant return to England. The case cannot fully be made here, but among Ross's poems on the ancient kings, the Leir poem is unique in its pathos and sentiment. Why should this particular poem be so different? One explanation is that it reflects an experience of something more moving than either Geoffrey or the anonymous play. In this respect it stands as a mute testimony to shared emotions of Elizabethan and modern audiences in response to Shakespeare's tragedy.

Ross was a lawyer with the common lawyer's pride in the legendary antiquity of English common law, going back, as many said, "time out of mind", to traditions predating the coming of not only William the Conqueror but even Julius Caesar.⁴ Accordingly, one turns to his treatment of Cymbeline in search of possible comparison with Shakespeare regarding British legal traditions. The laudatory speech on Dunwallo Mulmutius in *Cymbeline* III.i corresponds to Ross's poem on Dunwallo (not given here) in its general thought concerning English law. Ross, who dedicated his book to James I, praises Mulmutius as the first to codify law, while Shakespeare also says he was first to call himself king of England. Leah Marcus detects in Shakespeare's play a special interest in James I's plans for the union of England and Scotland; this is also a principal theme throughout Ross's book on "Britain".⁵ As for Cymbeline and his sons, here are Ross's pertinent poems (*Britannica* 32-34):

⁴ J.G.A. Pocock, *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law: A Study of English Historical Thought in the Seventeenth Century*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987), pp. 30-55.

⁵ Leah S. Marcus, *Puzzling Shakespeare: Local Reading and Its Discontents* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1988), pp. 108-148.

DE TENANTII, KYMBELINI ET GUIDERII GUBERNATIONE.

Androgeus Romam cum Caesare deinde profectus,
 Prae sceleris liquit regna pudore sui.
 Interea sceptrum tenuit Tenantius. Iste
 Terribilis bello, pace serenus erat.
 Hinc Kymbelinus successit jure paterno,
 Quo regnante:
 Nascitur in mundum mundi salvator IESUS,
 Qui peccata suo sanguine nostra lavat.
 Virque Deusque simul, de virgine, sed sine patre,
 Nam sine patre fuit vir, sine matre Deus. 10
 Hinc Kymbelino successit bina propago,
 Guiderius senior, junior Arviragus.
 Denegat exactum Romanis ferre tributum
 Guiderius; vulgo sic placet esse levi.
 Non tulit id populus Romanus, at arma capessit
 Ut Britones cogat solvere, quod renuunt.
 Claudius huc Caesar properans, et Laelius Hamo
 Instimulant Britones in nova bella feros.
 Non tamen in primis adeo faeliciter alis
 Pugnatur, quin et Claudius ipse fugit. 20
 Laelius astutam mox, deficiente leone,
 Vulpem agit (ut vafri pectoris usque fuit).
 Commutat clypeos, Britonumque insignia et arma
 Induit, et linguam Brutigenum simulat.
 Talibus instructus, falsa sub imagine, technis
 Vimque suis addens (sorte iuvante) dolis,
 Se Britonum turmis sociat, ne credere posses
 Hunc fore Romanum, sed potius Britonem.
 Inventoque aditu ad Regem nil tale timentem,
 Guiderium ad mortem funditus ense ferit. 30
 Hinc medios facto jam murmure lapsus in hostes
 Laelius ad socios incolumis rediit.

On the Rule of Tenantius, Kymbelinus, and Guiderius

Androgeus, traveling to Rome with Caesar, left the kingdom because of the shame of his crime. Tenantius meanwhile held the scepter, a terror in war, calm in peace. By paternal right Kymbelinus succeeded him.

During his reign Jesus savior of the world was born into the world, who washes our sins away with His blood. Both man and God, of a virgin yet without father; (10) as a man he was without father, as God, without mother.

The dual offspring of Kymbelinus succeeded him, the elder Guiderius, the younger Arviragus. Guiderius refused to give the tribute exacted by the Romans, which pleased the fickle people. The Roman people would not put up with this; they took arms to force the Britons to pay what they refused. Claudius Caesar and Laelius Hamo hastened to stir the savage Britons up for a new war. It was not fought well in the first attack, (20) and Claudius himself retreated. Laelius, unable to play the lion's part, played the fox — always at heart a crafty man. He changed his shield, put on the insignia and arms of Brut's race, and pretended to speak their language. Outfitted with these things, behind a false exterior, adding strength to his crafty deceits (luck did its part), he mingled with the British troops, and you would have thought he was a Briton, and no Roman. When he had gotten near the king, who was not on his guard, (30) he killed Guiderius on the spot with his sword. As the lamentations arose, Laelius, rushing through the enemy, returned from there to his own side.

VINDICTA ARVIRAGI IN LAELIUM HAMONEM, ET VIRTUS EIUS.

Hamonem Arviragus scelerata caede superbum

Obsidet, et fratris vindicat ense necem.

Claudius hinc prolem Genuissam iungit, ut isto

Connubio iunctus fiat ab hoste comes.

Ille tamen patriae pro libertate recusat

Romanum ulterius velle subire jugum.

Praelia Romanis multo cum sanguine movit,

Et domuit turmas, Vespasiane, tuas.

Ista fuit Britonum non ultima gloria, nolle

Se fieri dominis mancipia Ausoniis.

10

Is vitii mastix fuit, et virtutis asylum,

Romanis terror, gloria Brutigenum.

Is patriae leges stabilivit, ut inde corona

(Quae sine lege ruit) tutior esse queat.

Non adeo pronus forsitan punire malignos,

Quam fuit ingenuus sponte fovere bonos.

Utque fuit senio provector, arma reliquit,

Et studuit pacem (Marte silente) sequi.

An metuatur vel amet magis hunc Romana potestas

In dubio est, sed et hunc diligit atque timet.

20

Staminibus fuis, huic Claudiocestria bustum

Praeparat in templo, quod struit ille patri.

Arviragus' Revenge on Laelius Hamo, and His Courage

Arviragus attacked proud Hamo for this wicked murder and revenged his brother's death with the sword. Claudius had his daughter Genuissa married to him, by this union seeking to make a friend from an enemy. Arviragus, for the sake of his country's liberty, refused from then on the Roman yoke. He undertook a very bloody war with the Romans and, Vespasian, was victorious over your forces. This was not the final glory of the Britons, unwilling (10) to become slaves to Italian masters. Arviragus was scourge of vice and refuge of virtue, a terror to the Romans, the glory of Brut's race. He made firm his country's laws so that from that time on the crown, which without law is doomed, could rest more safely: this noble man was perhaps not as ready to punish evildoers as he was to lavish his personal attention on good men. And as he grew advanced in years he quit making war and, Mars being silent, endeavored to follow the way of peace. It is uncertain whether Rome feared or loved him more, (20) but it admired and respected him. When the thread of his life had been severed, Gloucester erected for him a funeral monument in the temple, which he built for his father.

Cymbeline is usually dated not before 1610, and there is no reason to challenge the point based on Ross's 1606 poems; Ross says virtually nothing about this king, in fact, except that the birth of Jesus occurred during his time, a detail that he found in both Geoffrey and Spenser. Two general parallels with Shakespeare's play are suggested, however. One is the way both authors develop the love-hate relation between Britain and Rome — admiration coupled with envy, imitation with a desire for liberation. Ross's portrait of Arviragus as a sort of ideal king plays up the relation between the crown and the law — to have a secure throne there must be secure laws. In Shakespeare the Dunwallo speech emphasizes that the first king was also the first lawgiver.

Ross does help, I think, with an episode in the play that has always been puzzling. As in Geoffrey and Holinshed, Ross has Cymbeline's sons lead the war against Rome over the tribute, while Shakespeare makes Cymbeline responsible. At the conclusion of this play, amid the notoriously many reunions and recognitions, Cymbeline seems to yield up his victory to the defeated Romans. He hears from his soothsayer that under him Britain is promised "peace and plenty". "Well", says Cymbeline,

My peace we will begin. And, Caius Lucius,
Although the victor, we submit to Caesar,
And the Roman empire, promising
To pay our wonted tribute, from the which
We were dissuaded by our wicked queen. (V.v.459)

Cymbeline now disavows the patriotic rhetoric of refusal to pay the tribute in Act III. Instead, he proclaims, "Let / A Roman and a British ensign wave / Friendly together" (479), seemingly oblivious to what seemed to be justifiable reasons for war in the first place.

Marjorie Garber, seeing this play as a Christian myth, links the tribute to Augustus's proclamation of the tax at Jesus's birth, and associates the peace with the *pax Romana* and the peace of Christ.⁶ For whatever reason, this seems to be Shakespeare's invention. Geoffrey makes it a valiant act when Cymbeline's son Guiderius refuses to pay tribute. Holinshed seems to concur, though he does make Guiderius something of a demagogue: "This Guiderius being a man of stout courage, gave occasion of breach of peace betwixt the Britons and Romans denieing to paie them tribute,

⁶ Marjorie Garber, "*Cymbeline* and the Languages of Myth", *Mosaic* 10.3 (1977), 105-15.

and procuring the people to new insurrections, which by one meane or another made open rebellion".⁷ Although Ross applauds the "glory of the Britons, unwilling to become slaves to Italian masters", he seems to condemn Guiderius as courting popular favor rather than dealing justly: "Guiderius refused to give the tribute..., which pleased the fickle people". I doubt that Ross was the first to put this spin on the story. If both he and Shakespeare think there was something wrong with the Britons' refusal to pay tribute, then perhaps there was a tradition, if only an oral one among the common lawyers and their students, that the Britons had not dealt fairly with their emperor. Reading Shakespeare, then, as Ross would have, the queen and Cloten in Act III, urging the king to break with Rome, could be voicing the destructive influence of the fickle and foolish multitude in matters of state.

J. W. Binns' massive and seminal book, *The Intellectual Culture of the English Renaissance* (1990), while overlooking Ross, lists hundreds of English authors who, like John Ross, gambled on the permanence of Latin and lost. Their body of writing, as vast as it is neglected, still speaks to us about their culture, including the writings of those hundreds of English authors who, like Shakespeare, were on the winning side.

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⁷ Geoffrey Bullough, ed., *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare* (London, 1957), p. 8, 44.

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MILTON'S LATIN POETRY AND VIDA

The name Marco Girolamo Vida (1485-1566), neo-Latin poet of the Italian Renaissance, occurs quite frequently in commentaries on Milton's Latin poetry.¹ Scholars have noted several minor links between Vida's *Christiad* and *Paradise Regained*² and *Samson Agonistes*.³ More significant parallels have been highlighted between Vida's epic and *Paradise Lost*.⁴ I have argued elsewhere that the hymn to Light in *Paradise Lost* 3 conflates features from Vida's first Latin Hymn to God as Light and the Father/Son debate in *Christiad* 6,⁵ and that the patterns of invocation in *Paradise Lost* 1, 7 and 9 draw upon Vida's third Latin Hymn to the Holy Spirit.⁶ It is evident that an intimate awareness of Vida's Latin writings underlies the Miltonic corpus — an awareness that was to persist from his earliest juvenilia (illustrated by his intriguing reference to Vida's pre-eminence the field of Christian Latin epic ["Loud ore the rest Cremona's trump doth sound", *The Passion* 26]) right through to his

¹ Cf., for example, Douglas Bush, *A Variorum Commentary on the Poems of John Milton: Vol 1: The Latin and Greek Poems* (New York, 1970), passim. Vida is cited no fewer than sixty-seven times.

² See, for example, Mario A. Di Cesare, *A Milton Encyclopedia* (London/Toronto, 1980), viii.136, who regards *Paradise Regained* as "the poem closest to Vida's in subject, and one in which Vida's example is felt in various ways, but less directly than indirectly". For further discussion, see E. Haan "Milton's *Paradise Regained* and Vida's *Christiad*", *From Erudition to Inspiration, Essays in Honour of Michael McGann*, Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations (Belfast, 1992), pp. 53-77.

³ R. Fox, *Notes and Queries* (1959), pp. 370-72 argues that the famous ship simile in *Samson Agonistes* 710-24 is based on *Christiad* 1.331-34.

⁴ See L. Gatta, *Gerolamo Vida e la Cristiade* (Palermo, 1900); O. Andolfi, *Il Poema del Cristianesimo. Studio Critico* (Rome, 1907); B. Zumbini, "Dell' epica italiana e straniera, e particolarmente dei poemi del Vida e del Sannazaro" in *Studi di letteratura comparata* (Bologna, 1931), pp. 39-62; M.A. Di Cesare, *Vida's Christiad and Vergilian Epic* (New York, 1964); *ibid.*, "From Virgil to Vida to Milton", in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Turonensis* 1976 (Tours, 1980) 1, pp. 153-61; G. Drake, "Satan's Councils in the *Christiad*, *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*", *ibid.*, pp. 979-89.

⁵ E. Haan "Heaven's purest Light: *Paradise Lost* 3 and Vida", *Comparative Literature Studies* 30.2 (1993), 115-136.

⁶ E. Haan, "From Helicon to Heaven: Milton's Urania and Vida", *Renaissance Studies* 7.1 (1993), 86-107.

most mature vernacular *magnum opus*. This article will confine itself to a discussion of hitherto unnoticed points of contact between some of Milton's Latin poetry (*Ad Patrem*; *Elegia Quinta*; *In Quintum Novembris*) and Vida's *De Arte Poetica* (and to a lesser degree his *Christiad*).

I

Ad Patrem

Ad Patrem is in effect a son's token of gratitude to his father for providing him with the means of acquiring an excellent education — an education which is presented as a gift from father to son, in return for which the son offers his own gift: the poem itself. Milton thus repays his father with a "divine...song" (*divinum ... carmen* [17]), the polished work of the poet (*vatis opus* [17]) and the embodiment of the education which he has received. Furthermore, he seeks to emphasise the integrity and validity of this accomplished gift and in so doing vindicates the poet's vocation and art. In its fusion of the themes of the poet's education and the defence of poetry *Ad Patrem* echoes *De Arte Poetica* in a number of respects. Vida's poem outlines from an essentially didactic standpoint the prerequisites of the aspiring poet's upbringing, asserts the validity of his vocation and issues important precepts on inspiration, composition, imitation, use of language *inter alia*. By skilful verbal reminiscence and subtle adaptation Milton at times assumes the didactic voice of Vida, exhorting his father to value poetry, while at others he presents himself as the educated son, thanking his father, who, he implies, has fulfilled in a practical sense the recommendations laid down by Vida, and is an ideal Renaissance educator. Vida's aim: "to educate from his youthful years an illustrious poet" (*vatem egregium teneris educere ab annis* [DAP 1.3]) has been achieved by Milton père. The continual shift in perspective affords Milton's poem an air of gentle humour and light-hearted banter combined with genuine appreciation and gratitude.

In the opening lines of the poem Milton conveys his desire that the Pierian springs flow through his heart and that the stream which issues from Mount Parnassus pour through his lips:

Nunc mea Pierios cupiam per pectora fontes
irriguas torquere vias, totumque per ora
volvère laxatum gemino de vertice rivum (1-3)⁷

⁷ All quotations from Milton are from *The Works of John Milton*, ed. F.A. Patterson (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1931-40), hereinafter abbreviated to CM.

The language is vivid and rich in its long vowel sounds depicting the transfusion of inspirational waters through a physical being. The Pierian springs are to constitute virtual baptismal waters as the poet receives voluntary initiation. Viewed in the context of Vida, Milton's lines are the embodiment of a recurring *leitmotif*. *De Arte Poetica* likewise opens with a reference to the Pierian springs. Here the speaker asks the Pierians for the sanction to proclaim their secrets and reveal their "holy springs":

Sit fas vestra mihi vulgare arcana per orbem,
Pierides, penitusque sacros recludere fontes. (*DAP* 1.1-2)⁸

It is the poet's privilege to uncover the secret waters of the Pierians. The language, echoing Virgil,⁹ is more formal than Milton's simple *cupiam*. Vida proceeds to outline the purpose for which this sanction is required. He intends to delineate the education of an illustrious poet, the singer of epic and of hymns. Milton, however, by a clever shift of emphasis, follows his invocation to the Pierians by a reference to the parent as opposed to the son — the educator rather than the educated:

ut tenues oblita sonos audacibus alis
surgat in officium venerandi Musa parentis. (4-5)

The Muse, abandoning all that is lowly, is to soar aloft in order to honour a venerable parent.

Milton's desire to be immersed in the Pierian springs is balanced by Vida's later statement that the aspiring poet must be acquainted with the Pierians from a tender age and approach their springs as soon as he has acquired the basic rudiments of speech:

Nulli etenim insignem dabitur gestare coronam,
Pieridum choreas teneris nisi norit ab annis.
Postquam igitur primas fandi puer hauserit artes,
iam tunc incipiat riguos accedere fontes
et Phoebum, et dulces Musas assuescat amare. (*DAP* 1.84-88)

Later, the young poet is to wash in the Aonian waters (1.109-10). Vida had insisted that such an act be voluntary. The *puer* must become accustomed to love the Muses. Milton, another *puer* (66), desires (*cupiam*) the springs to imbue his lips.

⁸ All quotations from Vida are from *Opera* (Venice, 1550). I have modernised spelling and altered punctuation.

⁹ *sit mihi fas audita loqui, sit numine vestro/pandere res alta terra et caligine mersas* (*Aen.* 6.266-67).

Milton has composed his poem as a gift which, however small, (*exiguum meditatur opus* (7)) is an attempt to repay his father. There is an irony underlying Milton's assumed modesty *topos*,¹⁰ for Vida had precisely recommended that the young poet compose "a small work" — an *exiguum opus* — embellished with ornamental figures:

altum aliis assurgat *opus*: tu nocte dieque
exiguum meditator ubi sint omnia culta
 et visenda novis iterumque, iterumque figuris. (2.339-41)¹¹

Surprisingly however Milton urges his father not to despise poetry:

nec tu vatis opus divinum despice carmen (17)

This admonition recurs in line 56:

nec tu perge precor sacras contemnere Musas

Vida had likewise advised his addressee:

Primus ades, Francisce. Sacras ne despice Musas (1.11)

But Vida's warning was issued to a nine-year old boy, Francis, the Dauphin (*puer* 1.19)!¹² Herein lies Milton's inversion. In *Ad Patrem*, Milton, the *puer* (66), is adopting the paternal/didactic stance of Vida, gently admonishing his would-be pupil — his father! The joke is picked up in lines 67-68 as Milton states that his father only pretends to hate the Muses:

Tu tamen ut *simules* teneras *odisse Camoenas*,
 non *odisse* reor

Milton is echoing Vida's warning that if a pupil feels hatred towards his master, he may simultaneously hate the Muses:

Ille autem pueri cui credita cura colendi
 artibus egregiis in primis optet amari
 atque odium cari super omnia vitet alumni
 ne forte et sacras *simul* oderit ille *Camoenas* (1.232-35)

The verbal similarity may extend beyond *odisse Camoenas* if Milton's *simules* (67) is regarded as a pun on Vida's *simul* (235). Vida however

¹⁰ Milton transforms the Virgilian modesty *topos* (*cum canerem reges et proelia, Cynthia aurem/vellit et admonuit* [Ecl.6.3-4]) in *Lycidas* 77: "Phoebus replied, and touched my trembling ears".

¹¹ Italics are mine.

¹² On Francis, see R.G. Williams, ed., *The De Arte Poetica of Marco Girolamo Vida* (New York, 1976), p. 127.

had developed the theme to include adults who abuse poets. He says that he has witnessed the ingratitude of men elevated by the Muses, but refusing to speak to poets. Furthermore he issues a general injunction to mankind not to annoy poets:

At nimium trux ille ferisque e cautibus ortus
qui sanctos, genus innocuum populumque deorum,
aut armis audet vates aut laedere dictis.
Vidi ego qui ad summos Musarum munere honores
evecti mox ingratos contemnere Musas
nec vates saltem alloquio dignarier ipsos.
Parcite, mortales, sacros vexare poetas. (1.497-503)

Again Milton picks this up and inverts it as he urges his father (who, like Vida's ungrateful men elevated *Musarum munere* (500), is *quarum* (sc. *Musarum* [56]) *ipse peritus/munere* (57-58)), not to regard the Muses as void and unprofitable:

nec tu perge precor sacras contemnere Musas
nec vanas inopesque puta, quarum ipse peritus
munere mille sonos numeros componis ad aptos (56-59)

Milton père, a skilled musician (*doctus* [60]), must not behave like Vida's contemptuous ingrates. The didactic tone, while pointed, is semi-humorous. Father and son (now given their rightful status (*genitorque puerque* (66)) are depicted as sharing the god Apollo (representative of music and poetry alike).¹³

That Milton père is not hostile to the Muses is suggested not only by the fact that he is himself an accomplished musician, but, Milton says, by the way in which he reared his son. Now the focus shifts as the addressee becomes the ideal parent of Vida's poem forever advised as to the education he should give his son. Milton's lines moreover describe methods which approximate Vida's precepts. Milton's father did not order (*neque ... iubebas* (68)) his son to follow a path towards materialism¹⁴ or to enter the legal profession:

... *neque* enim, pater, ire *iubebas*
qua via lata patet, qua pronior area lucri

¹³ Contrast the singular consecration of the young poet to Apollo in Vida, *DAP* 1.381: *et sese Phoebus addixit, propriumque sacravit.*

¹⁴ The theme of course finds classical precedent in Horace, *Satires* 1.6.85-88, in which he praises his father for not forcing him into money-making: *nec timuit, sibi ne vitio quis verteret, olim/si praeco parvas aut, ut fuit ipse, coactor/mercedes sequer: neque ego essem quaestus: at hoc nunc/laus illi debetur et a me gratia maior.*

certaque condendi fulget spes aurea nummi,
nec rapis ad leges, male custoditaque gentis
iura, nec insulsis damnas clamoribus aures. (68-72)

Vida had criticised "severe ... parents" (*duri ... parentes*) on precisely these grounds as they ordered (*iusserunt*) their sons to follow more lucrative pursuits:¹⁵

Nonne vides duri natos ubi saepe parentes
dulcibus amorunt studiis et discere avaras
iusserunt artes ... (DAP 1.290-92)

In another Latin poem, lamenting the death of his parents, Vida expresses his gratitude for the fact that in spite of their great poverty, they did not deter him from his vocation to be a poet.¹⁶

In addition, Milton père enabled his son to retire to the country — a reference to the retirement to Horton:¹⁷

sed magis excultam cupiens ditescere mentem,
me procul urbano strepitu, secessibus altis
abductum Aoniae iucunda per otia ripae
Phoebeo lateris comitem sinis ire beatum. (73-76)

While the concept of the poet's withdrawal is in accordance with Renaissance literary theory,¹⁸ it is also recommended by Vida in strikingly similar terms. Vida warns:

Quod superest etiam moneo creberque monebo
ne quisquam nisi curarum liberque laborum
inchoet egregium quidquam, verum procul urbis
attonitae fugiat strepitus et amoena silentis
accedat loca ruris ubi Dryadesque puellae

¹⁵ This practice had been denounced by Petrus Paulus Vergerius: *Verum evenit ut plerique ingenio liberali praediti dum recta studia sequi ipso contendunt aut manu iniecta revocant aut quibusdam oppositis quasi repagulis in cursu subsistere cogunt aut alio divertunt: plurimis nam angustia rei familiaris impedimento fuit quae liberum animum et ad meliora natum quaestui coegit inservire. (De Ingeniis Moribus [Venice 1493]).*

¹⁶ *Vos claras me scilicet artes/re licet angusta potius voluistis adire/quam genere indignis studiis incumbere nostro./Atque ideo doctas docilem misistis ad urbes;/quamvis in nostris lusisset lubrica rebus/iamprius fortuna et opes vertisset avitas,/et res fluxa alias potius revocaret ad artes (Gelelmi Vidae et Leonae Oscasalae parentum manibus [60-66]).*

¹⁷ Milton describes this in *Defensio Secunda*: *paterno rure quo is transigendae senectutis causa concesserat, evolvendis Graecis Latinisque scriptoribus summum per otium totus vacavi (CM 8.120).*

¹⁸ See Z.S. Fink, "Milton's retirement to Horton and Renaissance Literary theory" *English Studies* 22 (1940), 137-38.

Panesque Faunique et montivagi Silvani.
 Hic laeti haud magnis opibus, non divite cultu
 vitam agitant vates. Procul est sceleratus habendi
 hinc amor, insanae spes longe atque impia vota:
 et numquam dirae subeunt ea limina curae. (DAP 1.486-95)

Both Vida and Milton convey the poverty which is associated with the poet. In both instances the adverb *procul* is juxtaposed with the noun *urbs* or its adjective *urbanus* and a further noun *strepitus*: (*procul urbis/attonitae fugiat strepitus* [488-89]; *me procul urbano strepitu* [74]). Vida's jussive subjunctive *fugiat* (489) has been fulfilled in Milton's past participle *abductum* (75). Both stress the absence of *curae*. Vida states that a good poet must be *curarum ... liber* (487) and reinforces this in 495. The same theme occurs in *Ad Patrem*:

iamque nec obscurus populo miscebor inerti,
 vitabuntque oculos vestigia nostra profanos.
 Este procul vigiles curae, procul este querelae (103-5)¹⁹

Milton proceeds to thank his father for the variety of languages which, through his expense and efforts (*tuo ... sumptu* [78]), he was enabled to study: Latin, Greek, French, Italian and Hebrew. He describes the Italian language as that which the modern Italian pours from his degenerate mouth, seeing in him the embodiment of the barbarian invasions:

et quam *degeneri* novus Italus ore loquelam
 fundit, barbaricos testatus voce tumultus (83-84)

It is hardly a coincidence that Vida had described this in some detail, emphasising, like Milton's *degeneri ... ore*, the gradual degeneration as native Italians were forced to assume the language of the invader:

degenerare animi atque retro res lapsa referri.
 Hic namque ingenio confisus posthabet artem,
 ille furit strepitu tenditque aequare tubarum
 voce sonos versusque tonat sine more per omnes.²⁰
 Dant alii cantus vacuos et inania verba
 incassum, sola capti dulcedine vocis,
 Pierides donec Romam et Tiberina fluenta
 deseruere Italis expulsae protinus oris.
 Tanti causa mali Latio gens aspera aperto

¹⁹ Both Vida and Milton are fusing two phrases from classical Latin literature: the Sibyl's command in *Aen.* 6.258: *procul o procul este, profani* and Horace's dismissal of those who are ignorant of the muses in *Odes* 3.1.1: *odi profanum vulgus et arceo*.

²⁰ Mistranslated (as though the Latin were *sine mora*!) by Williams, *op.cit.*

saepius irrumpens; sunt iussi vertere morem
 Ausonidae victi, victoris vocibus usi. (*DAP* 1.179-89)

One of the most successful features of *Ad Patrem* is its skilful integration of the themes of education and the defence of poetry. These are much more compatible than might appear at first sight. Milton's poem is a gift and thus it need not be surprising that he should depict this gift as important and valid *per se*. This he does through celebrating the powers of *carmen* in a passage which recalls Vida. Milton however inverts the structural arrangement of Vida's lines, in which the praise of *carmen* had followed the educational precepts. In *Ad Patrem* the defence of poetry *precedes* the account of the poet's education. Milton, it is implied, is already the educated poet who in his celebration of poetry is vindicating his own vocation and art, repaying one gift by another and presenting his father with the fruits of his efforts.²¹

Milton's defence of poetry (17-55) draws upon Vida, *De Arte Poetica* 1.515-63, which in itself recalls Politian, *Nutricia*.²²

Common to Vida and Milton is the association of Prometheus with the origins of poetry — a factor emphasised by a subsequent passage in which the noun *carmen* is repeated. Vida professes that the Muses are gifts of the gods and — probably an instance of Vida's own invention — that they were brought to earth by Prometheus after his theft of fire:

Dona deum Musae. Vulgus, procul este, profanum.
 Has magni natas Iovis olim duxit ab astris
 callidus in terras insigni fraude Prometheus,
 cum liquidos etiam mortalibus attulit ignes. (*DAP* 1.515-18)

Vida recounts the incident (519-29), and follows the Prometheus reference with a section (532-63) in praise of poetry. Similarly in *Ad Patrem* an allusion to Prometheus serves as an introduction to the *carmen* section:

nec tu vatis opus divinum despice carmen,
 quo nihil aethereos ortus et semina caeli,
 nil magis humanam commendat origine mentem,
 sancta Prometheae retinens vestigia flammae.²³
 Carmen amant superi ... (17-21)

²¹ Cf. Grotius, *In Natalem patris in Poemata Collecta* (Leiden 1617), pp. 286-88: *dona rependere tantis/muneribus* (36-37).

²² *Nutricia* is the title of the fourth book of Politian's *Sylvae*.

²³ Cf. Politian, *Nutricia* 74: *ausa Prometheae caelestia semina flammae*.

In both instances the noun *carmen* recurs in different cases, thereby constituting a hymnic motif.²⁴ Vida asserts that from the beginning it was through *carmen* that the gods revealed their mysteries:

sed ventura prius pandebant *carmine* soli
caelicolae, dubiisque dabant oracula rebus (DAP 1.532-33)

Echoing Politian,²⁵ he states that Jupiter, Themis and Faunus employed *carmina* to deliver their prophecies:

Ipse pater divum Dodonae *carmina* primus
et Libycis cecinit lucis; mox Phocidis antro
insonuit Themis alma; suos quoque pulcher Apollo
responsis monuit Delphos; nec defuit olim
antiquis Faunus caneret qui fata Latinis. (DAP 1.534-38)

Milton states that Sibyls used *carmina*:

Carmine sepositi retegunt arcana futuri
Phoebades, et tremulae pallentes ora Sibyllae (24-25)

The same point had been made by Vida:

tum sacra Sibyllae
nomina divinas caeli in penetralia mentes
arripuere, deumque animis hausere furentes.
(DAP 1. 539-541)

and by Politian:

quin et veteres prompsere Sibyllae
carmen
(Nutricia 219-220)

Carmina were used by mankind after banquets when the praises of heroes were sung. Vida states:

Nec mora, quae primum Fauni vatesque canebant²⁶
carmina mortales passim didicere per urbes,
post epulas laudes heroum et facta canentes. (DAP 1.542-44)

He conveys the orphic powers of *carmen* as it moved rocks, drew forests and held them under its power (*tua munera saxa/dura movent silvasque trahunt hinc inde sequentes* [DAP 1.552-53]). Moreover, it prevailed upon the realms of Tartarus. Addressing divine song, Vida says:

²⁴ This finds classical precedent in Ovid, *Amores* 2.1.23-28.

²⁵ *Nutricia*, 207-8.

²⁶ Cf. Ennius, *Ann.* 214: *versibus quos olim Faunei vatesque canebant*.

Te quoque senserunt olim impia Tartara, et umbrae
pallentes stupuere. Minas tibi ianitor Orci
oblitus, saevas posuere et Erinnyes iras. (DAP 1.554-56)

Ad Patrem has a parallel passage. Like Vida (532, 534, 543), Milton has the almost hymn-like repetition of *carmen* in different cases, although he develops the technique on a larger scale:

carmen amant superi, tremebundaque Tartara *carmen* (21)
carmine sepositi retegunt arcana futuri (24)
carmina sacrificus sollennes pangit ad aras (26)²⁷
carmina regales epulas ornare solebant (41)
carmine, non cithara, simulacraque functa canendo (54)

The patterning of Milton's catalogue, as it were, is interesting. He reduces the lengthy accounts of the gods vis-à-vis *carmen* to the simple *carmen amant superi* (21). Then, echoing both Vida and Politian,²⁸ he describes some of the ways in which *carmen* was used:

carmen amant superi, tremebundaque Tartara *carmen*²⁹
ima ciere valet, divosque ligare profundos,
et triplici duros Manes adamante coercet.
carmine sepositi retegunt arcana futuri
Phoebades, et tremulae pallentes ora Sibyllae;
carmina sacrificus sollennes pangit ad aras
aurea seu sternit motantem cornua taurum;
seu cum fata sagax fumantibus abdita fibris
consulit, et tepidis Parcam scrutatur in extis. (21-29)

In Vida, *carmen* had soothed the angry *Erinnyes* (556); in Milton, it restrains the *Manes* (23). Where Vida had linked the Tartarus and Orpheus passages (552-56), Milton splits the two, reserving Orpheus until the end of the section:

silvestres decet iste chorus, non Orpheus cantus,
qui tenuit fluvios et quercubus addidit aures
carmine, non cithara, simulacraque functa canendo
compulit in lacrimas. (52-55)

Milton however extends the functions of *carmen* to embrace heavenly music after death and the harmony of the spheres (30-40), but returns to Vida (543-44) in linking *carmen* with banquets and the singing of great heroic deeds:

²⁷ For the association of *sacrifici* with *carmen*, cf. Politian, *Nutricia* 281.

²⁸ *Nutricia*, 216-96.

²⁹ Cf. Politian, *Nutricia* 291-292: *illius argutis etiam patuere querelis/Tartara*.

carmina regales epulas ornare solebant (41)

tum de more sedens festa ad convivia vates
aesculea intonsos redimitus ab arbore crines,
heroumque actus imitandaque gesta canebat (44-46)

Ad Patrem is closely related to *De Arte Poetica* 1 in terms of content, expression and overall treatment. In his fusion of the themes of education and the defence of poetry Milton presents in miniature what Vida had achieved on a wider scale. The subtle combination of the didactic and the expository, of the formal and the personal has resulted in a tribute to a father that draws upon, but at the same time goes beyond, Vida, *De Arte Poetica* 1. Links between Milton, Vida and Politian are highlighted in Figure 1.

II

Elegia Quinta

Elegia Quinta is the most descriptive of Milton's Latin poems. In its celebration of the spring-season it takes its place beside classical and neo-Latin treatments of the theme.³⁰ Its language is abundantly rich, and the poem seems to pulsate with vibrant energy in the manner of Stravinsky. One of the key features of the elegy is the parallel which is established between nature and the speaker, between the new surge of life and activity displayed by the natural world and the onset of inspiration within the poet's breast — a parallel that seems to transport the whole outside the realm of the spring-poem.

Lines 1-29 constitute a virtual prologue to the elegy. The poet places himself amidst his natural surroundings, as the growth and fertility which the earth displays at springtime are balanced by the *vires* which have returned to him:

In se perpetuo Tempus revolubile gyro
iam revocat zephyros vere tepente novos.
Induiturque brevem Tellus reparata iuventam,
iamque soluta gelu dulce virescit humus.
Fallor? an et nobis redeunt in carmina vires,
ingeniumque mihi munere veris adest?

³⁰ For examples of neo-Latin poems on spring, see Naugerius, *Carmina Illustrum Poetarum Italarum* (Florence, 1719-26), 6, pp. 478-79; Basilus Zanchus, *ibid.*, 11, pp. 413-15; Fracastorus, *Delitiae CC Italarum Poetarum* (Frankfort, 1608) 1, p. 1118; George Buchanan, *Maiae Calendae*. For a general examination of *Elegia Quinta* vis-à-vis spring-poems, see Don Cameron Allen, "Milton as a Latin Poet" in J.E. Phillips and D.C. Allen, *Neo-Latin Poetry of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Los Angeles, 1965), pp. 30-52.

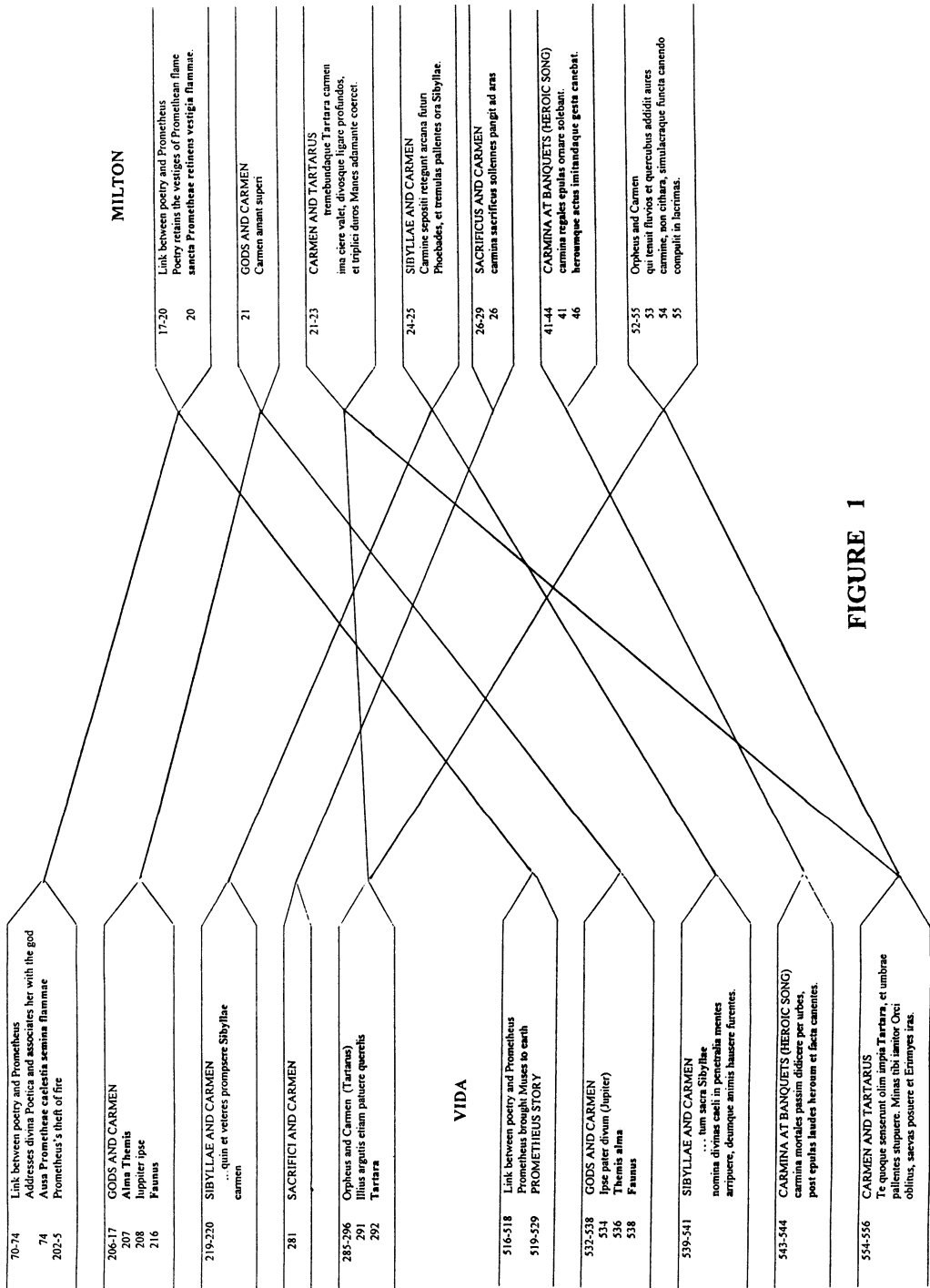


FIGURE 1

Munere veris adest, iterumque vigescit ab illo
(quis putet) atque aliquod iam sibi poscit opus. (1-8)

There is a parallel between *vigescit* (4) of the earth as it receives new life and becomes green and *vigescit* (7)³¹ of the poet's *ingenium* at the onset of inspiration. He answers his own rhetorical question: Yes, he has received inspiration and his mind is in a fervour of poetic activity. A balance is achieved between nature and the poet through the use of images and phrases which suggest reawakening and renewal. The earth has been renewed (*Tellus reparata* [3]); similarly, the speaker receives strength to compose poetry (*et nobis redeunt in carmina vires* (5)). Spring is presented in both a literal and metaphorical sense: the spring which is occurring outside the poet's self, and the spring — the sense of inspiration — which the poet feels within his very being. Both are closely related:

ingeniumque mihi munere veris adest (6)³²

Milton proceeds to convey the intensity of such inspiration as he describes the haunts of the Muses hovering before his eyes. He tells of the poetic frenzy which has taken possession of his breast: the *arcano* ... *motu* (11) and the *sonitus sacer* (12) within him. He welcomes the arrival of Apollo, who, as sun-god and god of poetry alike, is an important link between the two worlds of the poem. Once more the poet recounts his own experiences — *iam mihi* (15)³³ recalling *et mihi* (10). This time inspiration is presented on a higher plane, on a quasi-spiritual level, as the *mens* is whirled aloft to the heights of the sky and, freed from the body, can perceive hidden realms:

Iam mihi mens liquidi raptatur in ardua caeli,
perque vagas nubes corpore liber eo.
Perque umbras, perque antra feror penetralia vatum,
et mihi fana patent interiora Deum.
Intuiturque animus toto quid agatur Olympo,
nec fugiunt oculos Tartara caeca meos.

³¹ Cf. Catullus 46.7-8: *iam mens praetrepidans aet vagari/iam laeti studio pedes vigescunt*.

³² The notion of inspiration as a gift (*munus*) occurs in Vida, *DAP* 2.420-21 as the poet tries in vain to exercise his normal powers (*consueta* ... *munera*): *Ah quoties aliquis frustra consueta retentat/munera*. Later, poetry is described as the gift of Apollo: *saepe etiam in somnis memores Phoebeia versant/munera* (2.441-42).

³³ Cf. Michael Marullus, *Hymni Naturales* 3.1.12-14: *iam mihi, discussa mortali pectore nube,/Parcarum reseratur opus; iam panditur ingens/annorum series...*

Quid tam grande sonat distento spiritus ore?
 Quid parit haec rabies, quid sacer iste furor? (15-22)

The reference to *spiritus* (21), and several other features suggest links with Vida, *Hymn 3 Spiritui Sancto*.³⁴ There an essentially spiritual onset of inspiration was vividly described. Both use the phrase *intus agit* to depict a motivating force. Milton states: "a sacred fury and sound motivate me within" (*et furor et sonitus me sacer intus agit* [12]). In Vida, the force is God: "God motivates me within and moves in my heart" (*intus agit Deus, et nostro se pectore versat* [5]).³⁵ Both make use of the *fallor an* motif: "Am I deceived or does the power to compose poetry return to me also?" (*Fallor? an et nobis redeunt in carmina vires* [5]); "Am I deceived or does that heat rush forth?" (*Fallor? an ille ruit calor?* [25]). Both allude to a source of inspiration which hovers before the speaker's eyes: "The Castalian spring and the twin-peaked summit hover before my eyes" (*Castalis ante oculos, bifidumque cacumen oberat* [9]); "behold, a very great light hovers before my eyes" (*ante oculos lux en mihi plurima oberrat* [26]).³⁶ More generally, lines 15-22 of Milton's poem can be compared with Vida, 28-38.

However the overall parallel between the arrival of spring in the natural world and the onset of inspiration within the poet constitutes a skilful inversion of Vida, *De Arte Poetica* 2.395-454, in which the arrival and subsequent departure of inspiration are compared to nature's ever-changing yet perpetual cycle as manifested in the seasons of the year. More specifically, just as spring does not always adorn sunny fields, so inspiration does not always attend the poet. At such a time his strength languishes, and the Muses and Apollo himself are absent.

The first point of similarity between Vida and Milton is the emphasis upon the sacred nature of the frenzy which takes possession of the human heart. In both instances this is denoted by the phrase *sacer ... furor*.³⁷ Vida asks:

Quid, cum animis sacer est furor additus atque potens vis (DAP 2.395)³⁸

³⁴ *Poemata quae extant omnia* (London, 1732) II, 42-55. For links between this hymn and Milton's invocations of Urania in *Paradise Lost*, see my article cited in n. 6 above.

³⁵ Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid* 6. 726-27: *spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus/mens agitat molem et magno se corpore miscet*.

³⁶ Cf. Pliny, *Ep.* 9.13.25: *hanc imaginem menti eius, hanc oculis oberrasse*.

³⁷ Cf. Lucan, *BC* 7.551: *hic furor, hic rabies*; Pontanus, *Urania* 3.1189 *sacrumque ... furorem*.

³⁸ Cf. Politian, *Nutricia* 139-40.

Milton uses the phrase on two occasions: firstly, in his description of the onset of inspiration:

et *furor* et sonitus me *sacer* intus agit (12)³⁹

and, secondly, in his attempt to analyse the force:

Quid tam grande sonat distento spiritus ore?

Quid parit haec rabies, quid *sacer* iste *furor*? (21-22)⁴⁰

Vida states that inspiration is not present at all times. Indeed the hearts and dispositions of men vary in accordance with nature's changeable weather:

nam variant species animorum, et pectora nostra
nunc hos, nunc illos multo discrimine motus
concipiunt, seu quod caeli mutatur in horas
tempestas, hominumque simul quoque pectora mutant. (DAP 2.396-99)

This, it could be argued, is the beginning of a parallel between Vida and Milton on the subject of inspiration compared to, and even influenced by, the spring.⁴¹ Whereas Vida concentrates upon the negative aspects, stating what will happen if the season is unsuitable and inspiration *not* present, Milton inverts the whole, presenting a positive view. The features which Vida bewails as lacking in nature and in the uninspired poet are depicted by Milton as actually present in the natural world and, more importantly, within the inspired poet's breast.

Underlying Vida's lines is an awareness of the transience of spring and of inspiration itself. This is conveyed through the repetition of *interdum* (404, 403, 410 and 414), and of *nec semper* (411 and 412).⁴² The same theme is implicit in *Elegia Quinta* which, for all its positive elements, sees spring as but one season within Time's recurring cycle:

In se perpetuo Tempus revolvibile gyro (1)⁴³

Moreover there is an allusion to the cold of winter (*gelu* [4]) which has just passed; the youthfulness which the earth assumes is shortlived (*brevem ... iuventam* [3]). Spring is only part of nature's pattern. With

³⁹ It is possible that *sacer* qualifies both *furor* and *sonitus*.

⁴⁰ On a general level, Milton's attempt to analyse the process of inspiration may recall Politian, *Nutricia* 25-31.

⁴¹ Cf. the invocation of a vernal Venus in Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura* 1.1-61

⁴² Cf. Horace, *Ars Poetica* 350: *nec semper feriet quodcumque minabitur arcus*.

⁴³ Cf. Buchanan, *El.* 2 (*Maiae Calendae*) 9: *dum renovat Maius senium revolvibilis aevi*.

the poet himself, inspiration is *returning* (*redeunt in carmina vires* [5]);⁴⁴ his *ingenium* is beginning to grow strong *again* (*iterumque vigescit* [7]). It is as though he too has endured his winter when inspiration was absent, and is now recovering his strength like the world of nature around him. This notion may underlie the closing lines of the poem proper as the speaker prays that the passing of springtime be gradual and that the arrival of winter be delayed. His concluding plea to Apollo (presented earlier [13-14] as a virtual symbol of inspiration) may contain an implicit hint that with the arrival of winter, inspiration itself will vanish:

Tu saltem lente rapidos age Phoebe iugales
qua potes, et sensim tempora veris eant.
Brumaque productas tarde ferat hispida noctes,
ingruat et nostro serior umbra polo. (137-40)

Milton then, while certainly stressing a much more positive side of the theme, resembles Vida in his recognition of the transience of the seasons and of inspiration.

It is in his account of the features which mark the arrival of spring and of inspiration that Milton presents what is in effect an antithesis of Vida's lines.

Vida states that at times nature is wholly deprived of life: woods lack foliage, rivers are short of water and spring does not always adorn sunny fields:

Interdum et silvis frondes et fontibus humor
desunt, nec victis semper cava flumina ripis⁴⁵
plena fluunt, nec semper agros ver pingit apricos. (DAP 2.410-12)⁴⁶

The opening lines of Milton's poem seem to counter and invert such a negative viewpoint. Instead of lamenting the absence of spring, Milton rejoices in its presence, as Time recalls the fresh west winds in the warmth of that season:

In se perpetuo Tempus revolubile gyro
iam revocat Zephyros vere tepente novos (1-2)

⁴⁴ Cf. in a general sense Horace's spring poem: *Odes* 4.7.1 *Diffugere nives, redeunt iam gramina campis*.

⁴⁵ Cf. Horace, *Odes* 4.7.3-4: *mutat terra vices, et decrescentia ripas/flumina praetereunt*.

⁴⁶ For this commonplace notion, cf. Horace, *Odes* 4.7.9-12: *frigora mitescunt Zephyris, ver proterit aestas/interitura simul/pomifer Autumnus fruges effuderit, et mox/bruma recurrit iners*, and Michael Marullus, *Hymni Naturales* 2.6.17-20: *nam nec perenni terra viret coma/et saepe sudo nunc capimur brevi/nunc frustra inundantes procellae/terrificant redeunte sole*.

Instead of portraying the absence of foliage from the trees, Milton describes the burgeoning of nature as the earth becomes young and the ground becomes green:

induiturque brevem Tellus reparata iuventam,
iamque soluta gelu dulce virescit humus. (3-4)

The inversion is more obvious in the subsequent lines. Vida says that the same fate often befalls poets, and describes the sluggish torpor which can take possession of their hearts, with the result that the strength to compose *carmina* weakens, the senses falter and vigour rapidly disappears:

sors eadem incertis contingit saepe poetis.
Interdum exhaustae *languent ad carmina vires*,
absumptusque vigor, studiorumque immemor est mens.
Torpescent sensus, circum praecordia sanguis
stat gelidus.⁴⁷ (*DAP* 2.413-17)

The phrase *sors eadem* (413) is a direct link between nature and the poet. Milton achieves a similar link through the phrase *et nobis* (5), but unlike Vida who had conveyed the languishing of strength and the inability to compose poetry, Milton celebrates the arrival of strength and the great urge to compose:

Fallor? an *et nobis redeunt in carmina vires*,
ingeniumque mihi munere veris adest?
Munere veris adest, iterumque vigescit ab illo
(quis putet) atque aliquod iam sibi poscit opus. (5-8)

Milton's *redeunt in carmina vires* (5) echoes and inverts Vida's *languent ad carmina vires* (414). Vida's phrases describing lifelessness and lack of energy (*languent* [414]; *absumptusque vigor* [415]; *torpescent sensus* [416] and *sanguis/ ... gelidus* [416-17]) are replaced in Milton by phrases denoting new life and activity (*ingenium ... adest* [6]; *vigescit* [7]).

Vida proceeds to bewail the absence of the Muses. Because of the poet's lack of stimulus, one would think that the Muses had departed:

... credas penitus migrasse Camoenas (417)

Milton, on the other hand, sees the haunts of the Muses: the Castalian spring,⁴⁸ Mount Parnassus and the fountain of Pirene:

⁴⁷ Cf. Virgil, *Georgics* 2. 484: *frigidus obstiterit circum praecordia sanguis*.

⁴⁸ While *Castalis* is regularly used to mean the Castalian spring, it also occurs as a substitute for the Muses, e.g. *Castalidum grex*, Martial 7.12.10. If Milton's *Castalis* = Muse, this would be an even more specific inversion of Vida's *credas penitus migrasse Camoenas* (417).

Castalis ante oculos bifidumque cacumen oberrat,
et mihi Pyrenen somnia nocte ferunt. (9-10)

The association of inspiration with dreams may echo in a general sense Vida's statement that poets can compose even in the midst of sleep:

saepe etiam in somnis memores Phoebæia versant
munera, et inventi quidam qui saepe sopore
in medio Musis cecinere et Apolline digna. (DAP 2.441-43)

Vida stresses the fear that Apollo may never return to the poet's breast and states that the Muses and Apollo himself are of no avail:

notaque numquam ipsum rediturum in pectora Phoebum.
Nil adeo Musæ, nil subvenit auctor Apollo. (DAP 2.418-19)⁴⁹

Milton inverts this by celebrating the arrival of Apollo:

Delius ipse venit, video Peneide lauro
implicitos crines, Delius ipse venit. (13-14)

Vida asserts that it is useless to try to compose poetry when inspiration is lacking, but outlines a more positive instance of a man who was able to woo back inspiration by singing ancient poetry whereby his strength returned, his mind was renewed and vigour was restored:

Quidam autem inventus qui saepe reduceret auras
optatas veterum cantando carmina vatū,
paulatimque animo blandum invitaret amorem,
donec *collectae vires, animique refectione*,
et rediit vigor ille, velut post nubila et imbres
sol micat aethereus. (DAP 2.423-28)

This has already happened in Milton's case (*et nobis redeunt in carmina vires* [5]). Vida's simile of the shining sun is interesting in view of the role of Apollo in Milton's poem. As sun-god and god of poetry alike, he is representative of both nature and poetry.

In his inversion of a passage from *De Arte Poetica* 2 Milton has achieved a successful balance between the rejuvenation of the natural world at springtime and the onset of inspiration within the poet. Parallels are illustrated in Figure 2.

⁴⁹ sc. *credas* (417)

MILTON

VIDA

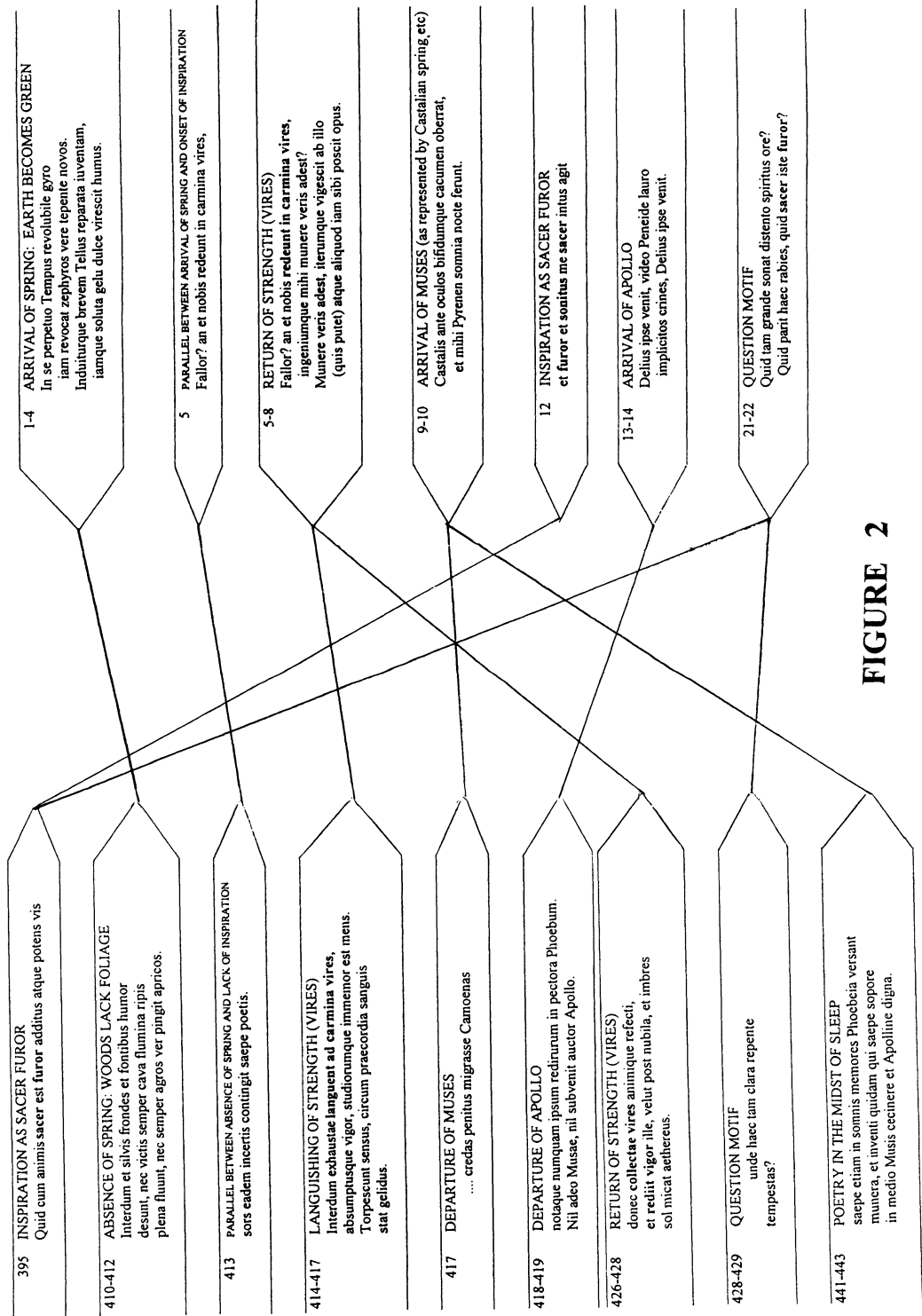


FIGURE 2

III

In Quintum Novembris

In Quintum Novembris merits discussion a priori in a neo-Latin context. Although the poem has rightly been viewed by scholars as a striking anticipation of *Paradise Lost*,⁵⁰ it is much more than this. Genre is of paramount importance here, for the poem constitutes in effect a miniature Latin epic on the Gunpowder Plot, and closely mirrors contemporary neo-Latin epics on that subject.⁵¹ But it is also possible that Vida's presentation of Satan in the *Christiad* functioned among others as an important precedent in conveying in rich and vivid terminology the Satanic origins of an evil plot.⁵² Points of similarity include the portrayal of the corrupting force of evil upon the virtuous, the physical characteristics of the enraged Satan, the use of disguise *inter alia*, while on a broader level, the power of God ultimately to thwart Satanic malice.

Milton presents Satan as a second Pluto, the father of the Eumenides,⁵³ reigning in the Underworld, but exiled from Heaven:

... ferus ignifluo regnans Acheronte tyrannus
Eumenidum pater, aethereo vagus exul Olympo (7-8)⁵⁴

Vida's Satan is likewise a second Pluto: "ruler of the world of shades, a wretched monster" (*mundi regnator opaci/infelix monstrum* [*Chr.* 1.121-22]), who, after summoning his infernal crew, describes them (and himself) as exiles from Heaven:

quos olim huc superi mecum inclementia regis
aethere deiectos flagranti fulmine adegit (*Chr.* 1.168-69)

Traversing the earth, Milton's Satan recruits his accomplices, causing hatred among friends and ensnaring the virtuous by luring them to his evil ways:

⁵⁰ See Macon Cheek, "Milton's *In Quintum Novembris*: an epic foreshadowing" *Studies in Philology* 54 (1957), 172-84. I have developed this in my doctoral thesis: *John Milton's Latin Poetry: Some Neo-Latin and Vernacular Contexts* (Queen's University, Belfast 1987), pp. 238-50.

⁵¹ See E. Haan, "Milton's *In Quintum Novembris* and the Anglo-Latin Gunpowder Epic", *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 41 (1992), 221-295; continued in *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 42 (1993), 368-401.

⁵² See S.P. Revard, *The War in Heaven: Paradise Lost and the tradition of Satan's Rebellion* (Ithaca/London 1980), p. 87.

⁵³ Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.324-28 in which Pluto is named as the father of the Furies.

⁵⁴ *Aethereo ... Olympo*, a stock phrase, occurs in *Christiad* 4.114 *nondum homini tamen aethereum patefecit Olympum*, and 4.1001 *et aethereo transcripsit Olympo*.

forte per immensum terrarum erraverat orbem,
 dinumerans sceleris socios vernasque fideles,
 participes regni post funera moesta futuros;
 hic tempestates medio ciet aere diras,
 illic unanimes odium struit inter amicos,
 armat et invictas in mutua viscera gentes;
 regnaque olivifera vertit florentia pace,
 et quoscunque videt purae virtutis amantes,
 hos cupit adiicere imperio, fraudumque magister
 tentat inaccessum sceleri corrumpere pectus,
 insidiasque locat tacitas, cassesque latentes
 tendit ut incautos rapiat. (9-20)

Satan in himself is a virtual embodiment of the demons in Vida's poem:

nec minus illi etiam diversis partibus orbis
 conveniunt properi qui terris omnibus errant
 hortantes scelera, ac variis mortalia ludunt
 pectora imaginibus, rectique oblivia suadent. (*Chr.*1.156-59)

In book 2, like Milton's Satan, they sow hatred.⁵⁵

Both Milton and Vida describe the evil party wandering over the earth (*terrarum erraverat orbem* [9]; *terris omnibus errant* [157]), seeking accomplices in crime (*dinumerans sceleris socios* [10]; *hortantes scelera* [158]) and corrupting and beguiling the hearts of men (*inaccessum sceleri corrumpere pectus, insidiasque locat tacitas cassesque latentes/tendit* [18-20]; *variis mortalia ludunt/pectora imaginibus* [158-59]) as they urge them to abandon or forget what is virtuous (*quoscunque videt purae virtutis amantes, hos cupit adiicere imperio* [16-17]; *rectique oblivia suadent* [159]). In both poems Satan or his followers sow hatred (*unanimes odium struit inter amicos* [13]; *inspirant odiumque animis* [2.36]).

Milton's Satan, on seeing England at peace and her people worshipping the true Godhead (*venerantem numina veri/sancta Dei populum* (33-34)), utters an embittered outburst of indignation, heaving sighs that reek of Tartarean fire and lurid sulphur. His eyes are ablaze and he gnashes his teeth:⁵⁶

... tandem suspiria rupit
 Tartareos ignes et luridum olentia sulphur
 qualia Trinacria trux ab Iove clausus in Aetna

⁵⁵ *principio spargunt occultum in pectora virus, vipereamque viris animam caecumque furorem/inspirant odiumque animis, et crimina linquunt* (*Chr.* 2.34-36).

⁵⁶ Cf. the vivid account in Marino, *La Strage degli Innocenti* 1, stanzas 7-8.

efflat tabifico monstrosus ab ore Tiphoeus.
 Ignescunt oculi stridetque adamantinus ordo
 dentis, ut armorum fragor, ictaque cuspidis. (34-39)

Milton's lines seem to recall Vida both verbally and thematically. The phrase *suspiria rupit* (34) finds a parallel in *Christiad* 2.951: *ingemuit, rupitque imo suspiria corde*, while *armorum fragor* (39) occurs in *De Arte Poetica* 2.382: *armorum fragor audiri, gemitusque cadentum*. On a thematic level, the description of the angry Satan's physical characteristics may be compared with *Christiad* 1.147 ff. Here he and others belch forth heat, smoke and black fire from their lips and eyes:

at centum-geminus flammanti vertice supra est
 arbiter ipse Erebi, centenaque brachia iactat
 centimanus, totidemque eructat faucibus aestus.
 Omnes luctificum fumumque atrosque procaci
 ore oculisque ignes et vastis naribus efflant (*Chr.*1.147-51)

A further point of contact between Milton and Vida is the demon's use of disguise and, more specifically, the features and habit of one under holy orders. In both instances the purpose of the disguise is to ensnare a victim. Milton's Satan transforms himself into a Franciscan friar:

cum niger umbrarum dominus rectorque silentum
 praedatorque hominum falsa sub imagine tectus
 astitit (78-80)

Milton proceeds to describe the Franciscan habit in some detail thereby echoing George Buchanan, *Somnium* and *Franciscanus*.⁵⁷ It should not go unnoticed however that Vida's demons likewise assume human form as a means of deceiving their victims:⁵⁸

Multi etiam in facies hominum vertuntur et omnem
 protinus incendunt variis rumoribus urbem (*Chr.*2.37-38)

Indeed they transform themselves into priests:

quin ipsos templi mentiti veste ministros
 singula tecta adeunt, patresque ad limina sacra
 conciliumque vocant (*Chr.*2.48-50)

The evil party implements and recommends fraud:

insidiasque locat tacitas cassesque latentes
 tendit ut incautos rapiat (*Q.Nov.* 19-20)

⁵⁷ See *Poemata Quae Extant* (Amsterdam, 1687), 1, 260, 19-20; 2, 293.

⁵⁸ Cf. Satan's disguise as an old man in *Paradise Regained* 1.314-20.

tu callidus utere fraude (*Q.Nov.114*)

nunc tectis opus insidiis, nunc viribus usus (*Chr.1.223*)

Finally, the general association of gunpowder with demons is common to both poems. In *In Quintum Novembris* Satan, disguised as a Franciscan, advocates the use of gunpowder:

hos tu membratim poteris conspergere in auras,
atque dare in cineres, nitrati pulveris igne
aedibus iniecto qua convenere sub imis. (119-21)

Vida had compared the demonically inspired priests to gunpowder in a cannon:

Infremuere omnes contra gemitumque dedere.
Qualiter aere cavo dum sulphura pascitur atra
inclusus magis atque magis furit acrior ignis
moliturque fugam, nec se capit intus anhelans;
nulla sed angustis foribus via, nec potis extra
rumpere materiam donec comprehenderit omnem;
tum piceo disclusa volat glans ferrea fumo.
Fit crepitus: credas rupto ruere aethere caelum,
iamque illa et turres procul ecce! stravit et arces;
corpora et arma iacent, late et via facta per hostes. (*Chr.2.204-13*)⁵⁹

Parallels between *In Quintum Novembris* and the *Christiad* are by necessity of a general nature. Nevertheless the reader of this Latin poem on the Gunpowder Plot should bear in mind the fact that Vida provided Milton with an important precedent of the presentation in Latin of Satanic malice: the origins and ultimate defeat of evil. Moreover Milton's poem anticipates that much more skilfully developed portrayal of Satan in *Paradise Lost* — a poem which in itself merits comparison with Vida's epic.⁶⁰

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⁵⁹ Cf. *Paradise Lost*, in which gunpowder is associated with demons, who use cannon as their weapon (6. 478-91). Raphael describes the actual concoction of gunpowder (6. 509-515), and conveys the havoc caused when it is ignited in the cannon (6. 578-89). Perhaps the demonic origins of gunpowder are most fully embodied in a simile in 4. 814-19. Satan, suddenly surprised by Ithuriel and Zephon as he whispers into Eve's ear, is likened to gunpowder itself when ignited by a spark: "As when a spark/Lights on a heap of nitrous Powder, laid/Fit for the Tun som Magazin to store/Against a rumord Warr, the Smuttie graine/With sudden blaze diffus'd, inflames the Aire:/So started up in his own shape the Fiend".

⁶⁰ I wish to express my thanks to Michael J. McGann (Queen's University, Belfast) and Anthony D. Nuttall (New College, Oxford) for their helpful comments upon an earlier version of this paper.

Noel GOLVERS

THE LATIN TREATISES OF F. VERBIEST, S.J.,
ON EUROPEAN ASTRONOMY IN CHINA:
SOME LINGUISTIC CONSIDERATIONS.*

The life and work of Ferdinand Verbiest (°1623-†1688), one of the three ‘pillars’ of the Jesuit mission in China during the seventeenth century, has been discussed and studied in many aspects in recent years, with particular emphasis on the ‘scientific missionary method’ he applied, after the model of several fellow fathers in China, with so much success;¹ nonetheless, much work remains to be done. In the present article, I would like to discuss in more detail the language of his Latin written reports on Jesuit activities in the fields of astronomy and other mathematical sciences in Peking, the preferred areas in which both Verbiest and his forerunners tried to impress the Chinese upper class with an eye to their conversion. I will do so within the limits of my competence, i.e. as a Latinist, involved since several years in the study of the original sources on this mission, which were mainly written in Latin (and Portuguese). This research originated from reflections on the specific vocabulary of Verbiest’s *Astronomia Europaea* during the preparation of my English translation, which has recently appeared;² the results of these reflections will be found in various notes scattered throughout the commentaries of that edition as well as in the present contribution, which should be seen partly as a further justification of that translation and partly as a complement to the commentaries.

* I am grateful to Mr. P. Van Dessel (K.U.Leuven), who revised the English text of this article.

¹ The history of this ‘method’ is still to be written.

² N. Golvers, *The Astronomia Europaea of Ferdinand Verbiest, S.J. (Dillingen, 1687). Text, Translation, Notes and Commentaries*. Monumenta Serica Monograph Series XXVIII (Nettetal, 1993).

However, in order to have a more substantial and representative corpus of text for this research, I have enlarged the spectrum to other, related Verbiest texts. In consequence, the corpus now contains: (a) his already mentioned *Astronomia Europaea* (AE), written in 1679/1680 in Peking and eventually published in Dillingen (Swabia) in 1687; it included in its Chapter XII the earlier (b) *Compendium Latinum* (CL), itself the result of the joining, in 1678, of two previous 'compendia' dated between 1669 (at the earliest) and 1676; (c) the *Mechanica* (M), i.e. a complete but concise Latin description of 106 drawings of the newly constructed European-sized astronomical instruments, drafted in 1676; important parts of this are assimilated in the AE as well, but many others are not; (d) the *Compendium Historicum* (CH) of 1676, summarized in AE, ch. I-XI; on the interrelationship between these texts, and between the Latin texts and their Chinese counterparts, see my conclusions in the aforementioned edition;³ (e) finally, three of Verbiest's letters from that time, which deal mainly with the same matter, dated August 20, 1670 and published in his *Correspondance*, pp. 166-184 (C).⁴ All in all, this material constitutes almost all of Verbiest's Latin writings on the matter; only very few references to scientific work have been found in other (Latin or Portuguese) letters. On the other hand, this rather small corpus of texts displays a closed character, as it was composed within the decade 1669-1679/1680, in quite particular circumstances which I cannot discuss here, and because they all deal with the same (semi-) technical topics; therefore it becomes an adequate and, because of its particular historic relevance — being the expression of 'humanistic' European technological traditions and knowledge transmitted into China — even an attractive target for lexicological research.

Apart from the letters these texts were until recently hardly available or even unknown: my research has indeed shown that European libraries and collections have preserved only a few copies of the *Astronomia Europaea* (AE),⁵ and the unique manuscript copy of the *Compendium Historicum* and *Mechanica* has only very recently been discovered. This situation has now changed since the aforementioned edition of the AE

³ N. Golvers, pp. 25 - 35.

⁴ H. Josson & L. Willaert, *Correspondance de Ferdinand Verbiest* (Bruxelles, 1938).

⁵ This small volume of only 128 pp. has thus attained a very high value on the antiquarian market: a copy from the Philip Robinson collection was offered at auction on Nov. 22, 1988, for £2000-2500, and eventually sold for £7150!

and will be further improved by the publication of the text of the *Mechanica* and *Compendium Historicum*, which is in preparation.

As for the content of these texts, they all concern: (a) the somewhat spectacular astronomical tests by which Verbiest, in late 1668 and early 1669, could demonstrate and prove the technical 'superiority' of western astronomical knowledge over contemporary Chinese knowledge, so that the Jesuits could return to public life and regain the Emperor's esteem, to the benefit of the until then persecuted Christian mission; (b) the construction of the six astronomical instruments of European size, built by Verbiest and his Chinese helpers between 1669 and 1673/4 for the Peking observatory, their main parts and the physical principles on which their working was based, from which it appears clearly that these texts and their vocabulary have a mainly technological character (see *infra*).

Ultimately the unequal quality of the transmitted text at our disposal must be emphasized; a lexicological study like the present one necessarily implies a sound text at the basis of all considerations. Whereas for the AE (including the CL) we dispose of a contemporary printed version — and for the CL even a xylograph in Verbiest's own hand! — of generally good text quality, the text of CH and M is known only from a copy, made in 1693 in Moscow after the autograph, by someone who probably did not know much Latin and who surely had some difficulties in reading Verbiest's handwriting. In any event, this hand-made copy of CH and M, although done with manifest care, provides a text of poor quality, and the emendations needed to reconstruct a comprehensible and sound text are very numerous, as will be shown in the forthcoming edition. It apparently contains some 'neologisms' which should belong to the material inventoried here but, as their form is still not certain, they have been incorporated in the following list with a *crux interpretum*. Finally, of the three letters in our corpus the autographs have survived, all in the collection of the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, J(apano-)S(inica), 145, f° 7-8; 9-10; 11-14.

My first and principal aim in this contribution is to analyse the Latin vocabulary of this small, coherent text corpus, especially with regard to its neologisms, and to present them in a neatly arranged vocabulary, the promised extension of the list at the end of my AE edition. As 'neologisms' I regard, and have listed *infra*, those words which in the sense they have

in our texts are absent from Lewis & Short's *Latin Dictionary*, the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, and Forcellini's *Lexicon totius Latinitatis* for the classical period, from the dictionary of A. Souter, *A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A.D.* (Oxford, 1964) for later Latin, and from Blaise's *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens* (Turnhout, 1954) for Christian Latin. I intend to distinguish systematically between medieval and post-medieval or Neo-Latin neologisms, in order to get a reliable idea about the specific medieval component of Verbiest's Latin vocabulary and about the persistence of this terminology — through his formation and the sources he consulted — in his works. Moreover, the post-medieval or Neo-Latin words and terms which — compared to the Latin dictionaries as yet available — appear in Verbiest for the very first time (in our list without*) are not necessarily, even mostly not, of his own finding or creation, although this can only be proved after a large reading of contemporary sources.

Besides chronologically, the material will be classified according to the linguistic technique by which the neologisms were created, either in the Middle Ages or in modern times (16th–17th centuries). In this way, this study will present, apart from a simple extension of the lexicon of Neo-Latin words (word-forms and meanings) and proper names,⁶ a somewhat deeper insight into how the vocabulary of a 'scientifically' educated Jesuit in the mid-17th century was constituted, and throw some light both on his terminological background and, as far as personal neo-creations are concerned, on his terminological abilities after about one decade in China, in a period when he openly, but in all probability not without some literary pose, 'confessed' to a progressive loss of his mastery of Latin.⁷

This last point will be briefly investigated in a survey of the characteristics of the author's Latin orthography, morphology and syntax, presented in the last part of this contribution.⁸

⁶ Of the 186 terms and 45 proper names, only 5 (*bombarda*; *correspondere*; *meteorologicus*; *prorex*; *tortumentum*) are mentioned in the embryonic Neo-Latin lexicon of R.J. Schoeck, "A Step towards a Neo-Latin Lexicon: a first Word-List drawn from 'Humanistica Lovaniensia'", *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 39 (1990), 340–365 and 40 (1991) 423–445 (604 items).

⁷ Cf. on this question my edition, p. 149–150 (n. 109).

⁸ As the direct model for this study I point to the authoritative essay by M. Benner & E. Tengström, *On the Interpretation of Learned Neo-Latin. An Explorative Study Based on some Texts from Sweden (1611–1716)* (Göteborg, 1977), which, both for the period and

1. Vocabulary.

1.0. First I will present a list of the 186 words and terms found in the aforementioned corpus which correspond to the characteristics described above. An asterisk (*) indicates a mention in one or more Middle Latin dictionaries, regardless of the date of the testimonia. In addition, the following sigla are employed:

- A: F. ARNALDI, *Latinitatis Italicae Medii Aevi inde ab a. CDLXXVI usque ad a. MXXII lexicon imperfectum*, 3 vols. (Bruxelles, 1939-1964).
- AE: F. VERBIEST, *Astronomia Europaea* (Dilingae, 1687).
- B: F. BLATT, *Novum Glossarium Mediae Latinitatis ab DCCC usque ad annum MCC* (Hafniae, 1957 ff.).
- BL: A. BLAISE, *Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi. Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Medievalis* (Turnholti, 1975).
- BT: A. BARTAL, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis Regni Hungariae*, Leipzig, 1901 (Hildesheim - New York, 1970).
- C: H. JOSSON - L. WILLAERT, *Correspondance de F. Verbiest* (Bruxelles, 1938).
- DC: DU CANGE, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis* (Parisiis, 1840 etc.).
- DEI: *Dizionario etimologico italiano*, 5 vols. (Firenze, 1950 - 1957).
- FEW: F. VON WARTBURG, *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Tübingen, 1948 ff.).
- FW: J.W. FUCHS & O. WEIJERS, *Lexicon Latinitatis Nederlandicae Medii Aevi* (Leiden, 1977 etc.).
- L: R.E. LATHAM, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources* (London, 1965).
- L²: R.E. LATHAM, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources* (London, 1980).
- L³: R.E. LATHAM, *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, 4 vols. (London, 1975 ff.).
- M: F. VERBIEST, *Astronomiae apud Sinas restitutae Mechanica* (...). Ms. in the National Library in Athens.
- MW: *Mittelateinisches Wörterbuch bis zum ausgehenden 13. Jahrhundert* (1967 etc.).
- N: J.F. NIERMEYER, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden, 1976).
- NED: *New English Dictionary*, 10 vols. (Oxford, 1888 ff.).
- PL: M. PLEZIA, *Lexicon Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis Polonorum* (Warschau, 1953 — 1985).

for the kind of texts it covers, seemed the most adequate prototype; another model was the brief contribution by K. Isacson, "A Study of Non-classical Features in Book XV of Olaus Magnus' 'Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus', 1555", *Humanistica Lovanien-sia*, 38 (1989), 176- 199.

a.: ante.

c.: century.

f.: figura.

°: reconstructed form.

†: form of the word uncertain.

‡: an authentic, but linguistically corrupt *lectio* of the author.

?: sense or gender uncertain / unknown.

A

acclive, adv.: M, f.31: “uphill”.

aeolopila, -ae, f.: AE, 87: “aeolipyle”.

aequatorius, -a, -um: M, f. 1: “relating to the equator; equatorial”.

albo-niger: M, f.97; AE, 71: “white-black”.

5 albo-ruber: AE, 71: “white-red”.

‡alilada for * al(h)idada, -ae, f.: M; AE, 50 and passim: “alhidade”. DC; BL; PL: 1284 etc.; L² and L³: 1326: “alhidade”.

anacampticus, -a, -um: AE, 60: “anacamptic; reflecting or reflected”.

anaclasticus, -a, -um: M, f.102; AE, 59: “anaclastic; refracted”.

anemodicticum, -i, n.: M, f.1; AE, 48: “a wind-indicator; a weathercock”.

10 anemodicticus, -a, -um: M, f.1: “relating to a weathercock”.

anemoscopus: M, f.1: “wind-observer”.

anima, -ae, f.: M, f.105; AE, 66; 67: “the bore of a gun”.

annuere, -o: M, f.74: “to converge”.

antisacoma, -atis, n.: AE, 83; 85: “counterweight”.

15 *applanare, -o: AE, 94: “to flatten”. DC; L²: a. 1250; FW; BL; MW; BT.

*aqueus, -a, -um: M, f.97; AE, 70; 71: “relating to water”. L²: a. 1211; FW; BL; BT; PL; F. Verantius (1551-1617), *Machinae novae*, ch. VI.

arcto-zephyrus: M, f.97; AE, 69: “northwest”.

arenarium, -i, n.: AE, 97: “sand-glass”.

armatura, -ae, f.: M, f.66: “tackle block”.

20 *armilla, -ae, f.: M f.2.3.4; AE, 49; 50 and passim: “armillary sphere”. L (1267); MW; PL (Vitelo; Copern.).

*armillaris, -is, -e: M, f.42; AE, 44; 50: “relating to an armilla”. PL (Vitelo).

*astrolabium, -i, n.: M, Praef.; “astrolabe”. DC; N; L (1110); L³ (Walcher, † 1135); BL; FW; MW; BT; PL (Vitelo)

astrologaster, -i, m.: AE, 11; 18; C, p. 567: “would-be astrologer”.

astropticus, -a, -um: M, f.40; AE, 10; 42; 47 and passim: “relating to star observation”.

25 azimuthalis, -is, -e: AE, 48; 50: “relating to the azimuth”.

B

ballistica, -ae, f.: M, f.105; AE, 61: “ballistics”.

bicrus, -ruris: adj.: AE, 95: “two-legged”.

*bifurcatus, -a, -um: AE, 88: “bi-forked”. DC; L; FW; BL; MW; BT; PL.

- *bombarda, -ae, f.: M, f.105; AE, 62; 65; 66; 67: "gun, cannon". DC; L (1413); FW (15c.); BL; BT; PL.⁹
- 30 bonzius, -i, m.: AE, 16: "bonze".

C

- caritas, caritatis, f.: AE, 29: "shortage".
- catopt<tr>ica, -ae, f.: AE, 77: "catoptrics".
- *chalybeus, -a, -um: M, f.34; 35; AE, 51: "steel". L (1264); FW; FL.
- *character, -eris, n.: AE, 6: "(Chinese) character".¹⁰ L³(7th c.); L²(932); MW (Theodulph., Carm.: †821); FW (15th c.), PL (15th c.), BT (17th c.).
- 35 chorographice, adv.: M, f.59: "chorographically".
- *chorographicus, a, -um: AE, 56: "chorographic; relating to the description of a country". L²: 1585; BT: 1701.
- chorometricum, -i, n.: M, f.59: "a land-surveying instrument".
- chorometricus, -a, -um: M, f.59: "concerning land-surveying".
- chronodicticum, -i, n.: M, f.60: "a time-indicator".
- 40 chronodicticus, -a, -um: AE, 62: "time-indicating".
- chronometricus, -a, -um: M, f.103: "chronometric".
- circumarmare, -o: M, f.105; AE, 67: "to coat all around with knives".
- *circumcursitare, -o: M, f.66: "to run round about frequently": FW (s.15).
- *circumpolaris, -is, -e: AE, 61: "circumpolar; around or about the pole". NED: 1686.
- 45 *circumvolutio, -ionis, f.: C 183: "rotation; circumvolution". L (9c.); BL; MW; FW; BT (1689).
- *claviculus, -i, m.: AE, 89: "little pin". L² (1316); MW; BT; PL.
- *clavicymbalum, -i, n.: AE, 89: "harpichord". DC (Scal.); L (1431); FW (15c.); PL.
- *cochlea, -ae, f.: M f.4.6.7; AE: passim: "setscrew". L (17th cent.).
- *coincidere, -o: M, f.97: "to coincide". L² (Bacon); FW; MW; BT; PL (Vitelo).
- 50 colaus, -i, m.: M, f.43; AE, passim: "Chinese prominent, called *ke-lao*".
- *collimare, -o: M, f.13; 97; AE, 71: "to collimate". PL (s. XI: "ictum dirigere"); L (16th cent.); Kepler, 1604; NED: 1623; BT (18th cent.);
- *conicus, -a, -um: M, f.6; AE, 52: "conic". PL (Vitelo).
- *conspicilium, -i, n.: AE, 97: "glasses". L(?); FW (1538); BT (1689).
- *contrapondium, -i, n.: M, f.31; AE, 85: "counterweight". BT (1876).
- 55 *cornix, -icis, f.: M, f.105; AE, 64: "cornice". BL.
- *correspondere, -eo: AE, 60: "to correspond". L (1236); FW (15c.); BT; PL.¹¹
- *curia, -iae, f.: AE, passim: "Court of the Emperor; Imperial City of Peking". N; L; L²; BL; BT; PL.

⁹ Cf. also R.J. Schoeck, p. 348.

¹⁰ More frequent is the less typical synonym *litterae*: see AE, 30, 55; 97. 'Character' in the quoted passage and in C, p. 478 is applied to hand written Chinese characters drawn by the Emperor himself.

¹¹ Cf. also R. J. Schoeck, p. 354.

- **curriculum*, -i, m.: AE, 79: "a chariot, carrying fire for heathing". DC; BL.
cursor, -soris, m.: M, f.97; AE, 71: "cursor".
 60 *cursorius*, -a, -um: M, f.97: "relating to a cursor".
cylindraceus, -a, -um: M, f.101; AE, 94: "cylindric".
 **cylindricus*, -a, -um: AE, 92: "id.". L (1686).

D

- diaphragma*, -atis, n.: AE, 82: "partition; diaphragm of an instrument".
digressiuncula, -ae, f.: C 178: "a small digression".
 65 *dioptralis*, -is, -e: M, f.2; 6; 12; AE, 43: "relating to a diopter".
draconicus, -a, -um: C 182: "resembling to a dragon".

E

- **eclipsis* for **ellipsis*: -is, f.: M, f.37: "ellipse". PL (Vitelo); L (17th cent.).
 **eclypsare/i*: AE, 30; 31: "to eclipse". DC; L² (1179); FW (15c.); BT (1733).
 **eclyptica*, — ae, f.: AE, 45: "ecliptic". DC; L (1267); L³ (early 12th c.); PL.
 70 **embolismalis*, -is, -e: AE, 19: "intercalary". DC; L (1079); BT (1689); PL.¹²
embolismicus, -a, -um: AE, 19: "id.". *erigere*, -o (figuram; epitaphium): AE, 29; 92: "to draw up (a figure; an epitaph)".
explicatiuncula, -ae, f.: M, Praef.: "short explanation".
extuberantia, -iae, f.: C 181: "projecting parts (of an instrument)".

F

- 75 *filaris*, -is, -e: M, f.4; 40; AE, 51: "consisting of thread".
 **fixa*, -ae, f.: AE, 15; 23; 24: "fixed star". BL.
frisa, -ae, f.: M, f. 105; AE, 64: "frieze".

G

- gazetta*, -ae, f.: C 173: "journal".
 **geod(a)esia*, -ae, f.: M, f. 43; AE, 55; 58; 59: "geodesy; land measuring". PL (Copern.).
 80 *glossocomum*, -i, onz.: M, f.77; AE, 79: "a device to lift up heavy weights".
gradialis, -is, -e: M, f. 16: "relating to degrees".

H

- **halo*, -onis, (f): M, f. 98, AE, 93; 94: "(lunar) haloes". L² (a.1294); PL (Vitelo); FW (14c.).

¹² A. Souter also mentions a Late Latin *embolismaris* (quoted from the *Comput. Carth.*, a source from 455 a.D.), which is a dissimilatory variant of an older *embolismalis*.

- horizon (azimuthalis), -ntis: M, f.1; AE, 48; 50: "horizon (astronomical instrument)".
- horologus, -a, -um: AE, 59; 85; 92: "reading, indicating the time".
- 85 horolotechnia, -iae, f.: AE, 91: "the technique of watch-building; horologic technology".
- hydragoga, -ae, f.: AE, 69: "the technique of water conveyance; hydragogs".
- hydragogicus, -a, -um: M, f.97; AE, 72: "relating to the (technique of) water conveyance".¹³
- hydragogus, -i, m.: M, f.97; AE, 72.: "a channel digger; a hydragogic engineer".
- hydraulica, -ae, f.: AE, 82: "hydraulics".
- 90 hydraulicum, -i, n.: AE, 87: "a hydraulic engine".
- *hydrostatica, -ae, f.: AE, 80: "hydrostatics". L (1686).
- hypomochlium, -i, n.: M, f. 28; 67: "the support of a lever".¹⁴

I

- *incidentia, -iae, f.: M, f.101: "(angle of) incidence". PL (Vitelo); L (ca. 1240); FW; BT (1689).
- incubus, -i, m.: AE, 83: "a float".

L

- 95 *libellatio, -ionis, f.: M, f. 97: "the act of water-levelling". BT (1852).
- ligno-metallicus, -a, -um: M, f.105; AE, 64; 67: "wooden-metal".
- lucida, -ae, f.: AE, 15: "the brightest star in a constellation".

M

- magnetice, adv.: M, f.85: "magnetically".
- mandarinicus, -a, -um: AE, 12; 24; 25: "relating to a mandarin".
- 100 *mandarinus, -i, m.: M and AE, passim: "mandarin". BT (1748).
- *meteora, -orum, n. pl.: M, f. 1; 98; 101; AE, 48: "atmospheric phenomena". FEW (14c.); PL (c.15c.).
- *met[h]eoricus, -a, -um: M, f.101: "high, atmospheric". DC; L(?); B (c. 1200); BL; FW (15c.); BT (1689); PL.
- *meteorologia, -iae, f.: AE, 93: "meteorology". FW (15c.).
- *meteorologicus, -a, -um: AE, 94: "meteorologic". PL (Vitelo); FW (15c.).¹⁵
- 105 *mil(l)io, -ionis, f.: M, f.42; AE, 19/20: "million". DC; L (1365); BL; PL (1457); BT (1802).

¹³ This term, as well as *hydragogus*, is only superficially identical to medieval *hydragogicus* (L [1250] and *hydragogus* (PL: 16th cent.), respectively, which had a purely medical sense, like its classical models.

¹⁴ In Vitruvius (X 3.2), *hypomochlium* was still quoted as a Greek term: "...supposita ...centro vectis...pressione, quod Graeci ὑπομόχλιον appellant".

¹⁵ Cf. also R. J. Schoeck, p. 425 (who omits to mention the medieval character of the derivation).

*missionarius, -i, m.: AE, Praef.; 98: "missionary". BT (1876).
musica, -ae, f.: AE, 26: "band".

N

*nadir, indecl.: M, f.5; AE, 51: "nadir". L (ca. 1233); PL (Albert, 1482).
noctu-diurnus, -a, -um: AE, 84: "for night and day".

O

- 110 *observatorius, -a, -um: C 181: "relating, belonging to the observer". PL (1524); BT (1835).
octangularis, -is, -e: AE, 77: "octangular".
octolateris, -is, -e: M, f. 102: "eight-sided".
*optica, -ae, f.: AE, 75: "optics". L (1267); NED.
organotheca, -ae, f.: M, f.43: "instrument-collection".

P

- 115 palaestra, -ae, f.: AE, Praef.[p. 4]: "book of study".
pantocrator, -oris, m.: M, f.66; C 182: "almighty; device to lift up heavy weights".
pantometrum, -i, n.: M, f.43; AE, 56: "pantometer; proportional compass".
*parallaxis, -is, f.: AE, 22: "parallax (astr.)". L (17th cent.)
parallelice, adv.: AE, 95: "parallel".
120 †parascheuma, -matis, n.: M, f. 17: "?".
parastaticus, -a, -um: M, f. 102; AE, 77: "displaying, representing".
pataca, -ae, f. (patacon):¹⁶ AE, 68: "pataca; Portuguese currency in the Far-East".
pedestal, -alis, n.: M, f.2; AE, 49; 50; 52: "pedestal".
pegma, -matis, n.: AE, 25; 26: "palanquin; pavilion".
125 pendulum, -i, n.: M; AE, 78: "pendulum".
peritroch[il]ium, -i, n.: M, f. 76: "wheel revolving round an axle (mech. instr.)".
*perpendiculariter, adv.: AE, 42: "perpendicularly". DC; L(1233), BL; PL (Vitelo).
perpendicularum, -i, n.: M, f.105; AE, p. 62: "pendulum".
perspectiva, -ae, f.: AE, 97: "a painting in perspective".
130 pinnacidium, -i, n.: M, f.2; 12; 60; AE, 14; 50; 52: "pinnule".
*planisphaerium, -i, n.: AE, 83; 85: "planisphere". L (1326).
pneumatica, -ae, f.: AE, 87: "pneumatics".
*polaris, -is, -e: M, f.77: "relating to the poles (of an instrument)". L (1275); BT (1876).

¹⁶ The Latin variant *patacon* (cf. Port. *patacão*) is, to my knowledge, attested only once, viz. in Verbiest's letter to Spatharij of 1680, of which we have only a 17th century copy; it is also quoted by the publishers of Verbiest's correspondence (H. Jossion & L. Willaert, p. 452), but is to be replaced there by the usual *patacas*, as is demonstrated by control of the autograph.

- polyedrum, -i, n.: AE, 60: "many-sided solid; polyhedron".
- 135 polyedrus, -a, -um: AE, 60: "poly-hedral; many-sided".
- *polygonus, -a, -um: AE, 77: "polygon". L (9c.: for -ius).
- *porcellana, -ae, f.: M, f.102; AE, 60: "vessel of porcelain". DC (17c.?); L (1622).
- *portatilis, -is, -e, adj.: M, f.62: "portable". L (ca. 1190); BT (1876).
- *practice, adv.: M, f.43; 101: "in practice". L (after 1300).
- 140 *practicus, -a, -um:¹⁷ AE, 72 and passim: "practical". L (c.1170); BL; BT (1852).
- *practicus, -i, m.: M, f.63; AE, 72: "practitioner". L.
- *praeludium, -i, n.: AE, 88; 92: "prelude of the carillon". L (ca. 1177); BL; BT (1608-1652).
- *praxis, -is, f.: M, f.56; 100; 102; AE, 76: "method of working; application". L (ca. 1250).
- *progressio, -ionis, f.: M, f.43; AE, 56: "(arithmetic and geometric) progression". L(1686).
- 145 *prorex, -regis, m.: AE, 31 and passim: "vice-Emperor". L (ca. 1190); BT (1490-1552).¹⁸
- *prototypum, -i, n.: AE, 79: "model". L (1345); BL.
- *pyramidalis, -is, -e: AE, 75: "pyramidal". DC; L (12c.); BL; BT (1743).
- *pyrius, -a, -um: AE, 64: "relating to fire". DC (1720); L (1622); cf. HELFER, s.v. Schiesspulver.

Q

- *quadrans, -ntis, m.: M, f.43; AE, passim: "1/4 of a vertical arc": as a geometric figure: AE, 62; as an instrumental support: AE, 53; as an astronomical instrument: AE, 14; 43; 51. L (ca. 1227).

R

- 150 radius (astronomicus), -i, m.: AE, 56: "Jacob's staff".
- *realis, -is, -e: M, f.43: "relating to the facts". L (ca. 1218); A; FEW; BT (1804-1818).
- *refluxus, -us, m.: AE, 93: "ebb-tide". DC; L (ca. 1190); BL; A; BT (1876).
- regula (horizontalis), -ae, f.: M, f.4; 13: "alhidade".

S

- semicylindrum, -i, n.: AE, 75: "half-cylinder".
- 155 *semidiameter, -tri, f.: AE, 43; 44: "radius". L (1233).
- *semidigitus, -i, m.: AE, 7: "half an inch". BT (1783).
- semiquadrans, -ntis, m.: AE, 29: "half quadrant; half quarter".
- semisignum, -i, n.: AE, 11: "half sign".
- sextans, -ntis, m.: M, f. 77; AE, passim: "sextant".

¹⁷ ThLL, s.v.: "vocem non omnino receptam esse in sermonem latinum testantur codices saepius cum litt. graecis exhibentes et tradentes plerumque formas decl. gr."

¹⁸ Cf. also R. J. Schoeck, p. 433.

- 160 sparto-statica, -ae, f.: M, f.75: "statica based on the working with ropes".
 *speculative, adv.: M, f.101: "theoretically". L (ca. 1300).
 *statica, -ae, f.: M, f.70 etc.; AE, 58; 79: "statics". L (1686).
 subsultus, -us, m.: C 170: "a tumbling".
 superaffigere: AE, 64: "to attach on top".

T

- 165 *thaumaturgus, -a, -um: M, f.102; AE, 77: "wonderworking, thaumaturgic".
 BT (1688).
 thaumaturgus, -i, m.: M, f. 102; AE, 77: "miracle worker, thaumaturg".
 *theorice, adv.: M, f.99: "speculatively". L (1275).
 thermoscopium, -i, n.: M, f.99; AE, 95: "thermoscope".
 titularis, -is, -e: C 168: "belonging to an inscription".
 170 *tormentum, -i, n.: M, f.105; AE, 62; 63: "gun, cannon". L (1535).¹⁹
 *transversalis, -is, -e: M, f.2; AE, 50: "transversal". DC; L (1250); BT (1668).
 *trigesies: M, f.66; AE, 75: "thirty times". L (1267).
 trigonometria, -ae, f.: AE, 9: "trigonometry".
 *trigonometricus, -a, -um: AE, 10: "trigonometric". L (1686).
 175 trusio, -ionis, f.: C 178: "pressing (a force-pump)".
 turbinatim, adv.: M, f.6; AE, 52: "on the manner of a spinning-top".

U

- umbratio, -ionis, f.: AE, 79: "shadowing; painting with the shadow technique".
 uranologia, -ae, f.: AE, 95: "(personification of) the study of heavens".
 *uranicus, -a, -um: M, f.101; AE, 94: "relating to the (astronomical) Heaven".
 N; L (ca. 1000); BL.

V

- 180 venari, -or: C 183; M, f.6; AE, 52: "to investigate thoroughly".
 *vernix, -icis, f.: M, f.105; AE, 64: "varnish". L (1296); BT (1729).
 *vitis, -is, f.: M, f. 66; AE, passim: "screw". DC (s.v. vis); BL (id.).

X

- xirometricum, -i, n.: M, f.99: "a dryness-meter".

Z

- zodiacalis, -is, -e: AE, 49: "relating to the zodiac".
 185 zodiaco-aequatorius, -a, -um: AE, 44: "zodiacal-equatorial".
 zodiaco-aequinoctialis, -is, -e: AE, 43: "zodiacal-equinoctial".

¹⁹ Cf. also R. J. Schoeck, p. 442.

Proper names²⁰

- Arabico-Sinicus, -a, -um: AE, 12: "Arabo-Chinese".
 Argolus, -i, m: AE, 11: A. Argoli, Italian scientist (°1570–†1657).
 Bettinus, Marius: AE, p. 87: Italian Jesuit scientist (°1582–†1657).
 Bulius, Ludovicus: AE, p. 3; 8; 78: Italian Jesuit in China (°1606–†1682).²¹
 Cam Hy: AE, title page; p. 34; 40; 46; 47; 73; 80: the regnal title of the second Chinese-Manchu Emperor (1654-1722).
 Cantoniensis, -is, -e: AE, Praef. [p. 4]; 99: "relating to Canton".
 China (occidentalis): AE, 2.
 Cochinchina, -ae, f.: AE, 28: "Cochin-China".
 Coloniensis, -is, -e: AE, 3: "inhabitant of the German city of Köln" (Lat. Colonia).
 Eschinardus, Franciscus: AE, p. 87: Italian Jesuit scientist (°1623–†1703).
 Flandro-Belga, -ae, m: AE, p. 3: Jesuit priest belonging to the S.J. province of Northern "Belgium".
 Fokinensis, -is, -e: AE, 28: "relating to the province of Fokien".
 Fu gin (ms.: giu): AE, 37; 39: "Chinese title of the woman of a promoted man".
 Hu Quam: AE, p. 67: Chin. province of Hu-Kuang.
 Japo(n), -onis: AE, 17: "inhabitant of Japan".
 Japonia, -ae, f.: AE, 97: "Japan".
 Kircherus, Athanasius: M, Praef.; AE, p. 80: A. Kircher, coryphaeus of contemporary Jesuit learning (°1602–†1680).
 Lu Keu: M, f. 66: "Lu Keu-bridge near Peking".
 Lusitanus, i, m.: AE, 88: "Portuguese".
 Macaum, -i, n.: AE, 89: "Macao".
 Magal(l)ianes, Gabriel de: AE, 3; 8; 10; 92: Portuguese Jesuit in China (°1610–†1677).
 *Mahumetanus, -a, -um: AE, 3: "Muslim". L (1502); BT (Maho-).
 *Mahumetanus, -i, m.: AE, 6; 13: "a Muslim".
 Pekinensis, -is, -e: AE, passim: "relating to Peking".
 Pekinum, -i, n.: M, f. 66; AE, 44; 61: "Peking".
 Pequinensis, -is, -e: AE, 1; 40, 58: "relating to Peking".
 Quo Xeu (ms.: Xen) King: M, Praef.: Chinese astronomer Kuo Shou-ching (°1231–†1316).
 Sardonicus, -a, -um: AE, 9: "Sardonic".
 Scheinerus, Christophorus: AE, 79: Jesuit scientist (°1575–†1650).
 Sinensis, -is, -e: AE, 2; 12: "Chinese".
 Sinicus, -a, -um: AE, 20; 89; 90: "Chinese".
 Sino-Arabicus, -a, -um: AE, 15.
 Su Chuen: AE, Praef. [p. 3]: the Chinese province of Ssu-ch'uan.
 tai (var. tay) cham su: AE, 35; 36; 37; 38; 39: Chinese honorary title.

²⁰ Contrary to the list of nouns, this onomastic list does not include the names in Verbiest's correspondence, which are far too numerous to be incorporated in this research.

²¹ The occasional variant *Bulio* is found in AE, Praef.

*Tartaricus, -a, -um: passim: "Manchu". DC; L.
 Tartaro-Synicus: AE, 2.
 Tartarus, -i, m.: AE, 28 etc.: "The (Chinese-)Manchu Emperor".
 Tum chim su chim tam: AE, 34: Chinese honorary title.
 Tum fum ta fu: AE, 35; 36; 37; 39: Chinese title.
 Tumkinensis, -is, -e: AE, 28: "relating to Tonkin".
 Tychonicus, -a, -um: M, f. 7; AE, 52: "Tychonic; relating to the Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe (°1546–†1601)".
 Uming-huen: AE, 3: the Chinese Wu Ming-hsüan.
 Xan Si: AE, Praef. [p. 4]: the Chinese province of Shan-hsi.
 Xen Si: AE, Praef. [p. 4]; 65: the Chinese province of Shen-hsi.
 Yangquangsenius, -i, m.: AE, 3; 18; 28: the Chinese opponent *par excellence* of Verbiest, Yang Kuang-hsien.

The total number in this list is 186 words and terms, and 45 proper names (total: 231 items). Not all are of equal importance, varying between simple 'Augenblicks-Bildungen' such as substantivated adjectives (type: *chronodicticum* from *chronodicticus*) and slight orthographic variants of classic terms such as *aeolopila*²² on the one hand, and true neo-compounds such as *thermoscopium* etc. on the other. However, it does not seem sound to alter this total figure before a further analysis of this list has been made.

On the other hand, for various reasons I have not retained as neologisms the following words in Verbiest's text: first those words which are demonstrably due to a copyist's or printer's error: *usquemodo* (AE, p. 87) for *usque modo*, the regular spelling which is also found in Verbiest's autograph letters, e.g. ARSI, JS 145, f° 45r. (cf. C, p. 362), the anomalous *catoptica*, for which the author himself elsewhere uses the normal *catoptrica* (See C, p. 308),²³ and the completely isolated *metallus*, -a, -um: "metallic" in M, fig. 23, which is to be replaced either by the current *metall<in>us* or *metall<ic>us*.

Unlike the former cases, in the three next items the aberrant orthography is confirmed either by other copies of Verbiest texts or by some autographs, so that we must reckon with a kind of idiosyncratic variant of the author himself. First, there is the not uncommon spelling *praeseferre* for *prae se ferre*, found not only in the printed version of the AE (p. 10; 64; 94; 97),

²² Cf. N. Golvers, pp. 309-310 (n.3).

²³ *Catoptice*, however, is also used by Politianus: see the quotation in R. Hoven, *Lexique de la prose latine de la renaissance* (Leiden, 1994), p. 54.

but also in the copy of M, and thus in all probability Verbiest's own spelling in both manuscripts. Another aberrant and hitherto unexplained spelling is *alilada* for the current medieval *alidada* (see *supra*), clearly recognizable in Verbiest's own hand in several places of the xylograph of CL;²⁴ *torneare*: "to turn on / in the lathe", is clearly the result of a confusion between the medieval *torneare*: "take part in a tournament" and the classical Latin *tornare*: "to turn on / in a lathe; to round off"; as this spelling returns in M, fig. 105, it was in all probability an authentic orthography of the writer himself. A similar substitution may be at the basis of the spelling *eclipsis* for *ellipsis*: "ellipse", confusing two etymologically cognate terms, i.e. *ellipsis*: "ellipse" and *eclipsis*: "eclipse", the astronomical content being more frequently used by Verbiest.²⁵

I have positively inserted in the list two terms, preserved in the copy of M, in which a neologism is apparently hidden, though its form is thus far unclear, due to the poor condition of this copy:

(1) the subst. †*parascheumata* is quoted in M, f. 17: "parascheumata quaedam ad divisionem instrumentorum"; it probably bears some relation to Gr. παρασκευή: "praeparatio ad demonstrationes" (Micraelius) v.s.; perhaps it should be emendated to °*parascheu*<*as*>-*mata*, with a copyist's error of haplography between the two identical syllables -*as*-. The Greek παρασκευάσμα is a regular derivation from the verb παρασκευάζειν, and a good parallel to 17th-century pseudo-Greek derivations such as *technasma*, *elasma*, etc. (G. Schottus); in addition, cf. the derivation "pars...*parasceuastica*" both in G. Schottus and A. Kircher.

(2) †*xicometricum* (sic), probably to be read as °*xiro-metricum* (instrumentum), less probably as °*sic(c)o-metricum*, i.e. "dryness-meter", which would be fully in accordance with the content of the description.²⁶ The component -*metricum* may be compared to *chrono-metricum* (M, f. 59) and *ageo-metricum* (Micraelius,²⁷ s.v.).

Thus far, no external support in the contemporary sources has been found for these hypotheses.

²⁴ Cf. a similar, but not identical error *alidala* in MW, I, 446, and others in PL, s.v. *alidada(-lada?)*.

²⁵ Other testimonia of such confusion are presented in PL (from 13th cent.: Vitelo).

²⁶ This presumption is now confirmed by A. Segonds (Paris, Belles Lettres), by letter of 29 November 1994, for which I am grateful.

²⁷ See J. Micraelius, *Lexicon philosophicum terminorum philosophis usitatorum*, second edition (Paris, 1662).

Commentary

1.1. The nature of these neologisms.

In view of the (semi-)technical nature of our texts (cf. *supra*), it is not amazing that 146 of 186 items, i.e. 78%, can be considered technical neologisms, referring to new inventions, instruments, parts of instruments etc., while only 40 belong to the general vocabulary. This was perhaps not only a question of a specific need, which was undoubtedly felt more strongly in technical matters, but maybe there also existed a kind of reluctance towards unnecessary neologisms in the general vocabulary. On the other hand, the fact that only 9 of the 186 items are verbs, i.e. 4,8%, fits well with an earlier conclusion made by M. Benner — E. Tengström on a similar type of roughly contemporary Swedish dissertation texts, who relate it immediately to the specific character of 17th-century science which focused on “*things and their qualities...rather than processes*”.²⁸

The most conspicuous group among the technological neologisms are the names of the various scientific (mathematical or mechanical) disciplines. Fourteen of them appear in the heading of a separate chapter in the second part of the AE, several others appear elsewhere. Only four are of classical origin (*gnomonica*, *mechanica*, *musica*, and the Late Latin *perspectiva*), the other ten are neologisms. This is shown in the following overview:

Ballistica (AE, ch. 15): existing neither in Greek nor in Latin, it was first used and in all probability created by M. Mersenne in 1644 (*Cogitata physico-mathematica*, tr. 6: *Ballistica et acontismologia*, t. 9, p. 46). As Mersenne was one of Verbiest's sources, he may well have found this neologism here.

Catopt<r>ica (AE, ch. 19): the oldest attestations in my possession go back no further than the 16th century: cf. Engl. *catoptrike* (1570), and French *catoptrique* (1584).

Horolotechnia (AE, ch. 26): no modern antecedents nor parallels on -*technia* are known to me.²⁹

²⁸ M. Benner - E. Tengström, pp. 55- 56.

²⁹ Not one mention in R. Pitkäranta, *Neulateinische Wörter und Neologismen in den Dissertationen des 17. Jahrhunderts. Personenbezeichnungen und Sachabstrakta auf -ia* (Helsinki, 1992).

Hydragogica (AE, ch. 16): for this term, indicating the construction of a drainage channel, including all the preparatory stages, such as the levelling etc., I could find no parallel, neither in Latin nor in the 'national' vernaculars. Verbiest's application of this term only finds an echo in 17th-century English sources: see NED, s.v. (1661): "...hydragogical conveyances". It is the extension of Greek ὑδραγωγία + the Latin suffix *-ica*.

Hydraulica (AE, ch. 23): Cf. Greek τὸ ὑδραυλικὸν ὄργανον (Hero), Latin *hydraulicus*, also applied to the same kind of organ. The semantic transposition to the science and construction of machines operated by water power, or in which water is conveyed through pipes, occurred in English about 1661 (NED, s.v.) and is attested in French since 1690 (Furetière).

Hydrostatica (AE, ch. 22): this term first appears in the Latin translation by W. Snellius (*Mathematicorum Hypomnematum de Statica*, Leiden, 1605) of Simon Stevin's Dutch treatise *Waterwichtdaet*. From there the term was introduced in English (1660: Boyle), in French (1691: PEW, IV, 522a) and in other languages.

Meteorologia (AE, ch. 27): this term, already found in Aristotle, was reintroduced in the early modern era: in Latin since the 15th cent. (FW), in French since 1578 (*Trésor*) or even 1548 (FEW, VI, 2/3, p. 59), in Italian since Fausto da Longiano (16th cent.).

Optica (AE, ch. 18): This word derives from Greek ἡ ὀπτική³⁰ and was introduced into medieval Latin in 12th-century translations of Euclid and Ptolemy: see NED, s.v., which quotes the names of Henricus Aristippus and Eugenius, and E. Grant *Physical Science in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1977), p. 16 - 19. Contrary to the current medieval form (neutr. plur.), Verbiest uses this term as a fem. sing.

Pneumatica (AE, ch. 24): though the adj. πνευματικός is already attested in classical Greek (Arist.), and *pneumaticus* also in classical Latin, the subst. *pneumatica* — in its technological sense — was derived from it only later: the Italian *pneumatica* ("meccanica dei corpi aeriformi") first appears in the work of E. Tesauro (1591-1675), Engl. *pneumatics* in 1660 (Boyle), and French *pneumatique* even as late as 1743 (but the adj. already in 1547: FEW IX, 108).

Statica (AE, ch. 21): see Greek ἡ στατική (Plato); the oldest modern instances I know of date back to the very 17th century, with the aforementioned Latin translation of Stevin's *Waterwichtdaet* by Snellius; the oldest attestations in French date from 1634 (FEW, XII, 244), in English from 1656 (NED).

³⁰ The graecizing spelling *optice* is already found in Vitruvius (1.1.4).

In addition to this series, but mentioned only *passim* in the text, we find such 'new' sciences as *geod(a)esia*, first mentioned in Politianus,³¹ *uranologia*, first mentioned in 1583,³² and *sparto-statica*, also coined by Snellius in his 1605 as a translation of Stevin's *tauwicht*.

Finally, of these 13 neologisms, only five were drawn directly from the ancient Greek technological vocabulary known to us, either in the Middle Ages or in the 16th-17th centuries: *geodesia*, *optica*, *catoptrica*, *statica*, *meteorologia*. The other 8 terms in the series were apparently built during the 16th-17th centuries from pre-existing Greek elements: either starting from a pre-existing adjective (*pneumatica*; *hydraulica*), built by analogy with other formations available (the series of terms on *-logia*; *hydragogica*), or by diversifying an already existing term (both *hydro-statica* and *sparto-statica* from *statica*). Of some of these Neo-Latin neologisms, we can guess the origin with some degree of probability: *Ballistica* has a good chance of having been created by M. Mersenne, *statica*, *hydrostatica* and *spartostatica* by Snellius. Only for the 'double compound' *horolo-technia* (**horo-lo[go]-technia*) I was unable to find a single parallel, which is a slight indication for a neo-creation by F. Verbiest himself.

1.2. Typology of the neologisms.

Further analysis of this material, whatever its origin, medieval or post-medieval, has to explain the technique by which the neologisms were created, either by Verbiest himself or in the sources he immediately relied on, viz. by indicating the formation types they represent. For this research, let us start from a preliminary distinction between 'neo-formations' on the one hand, and 'neologisms of sense' on the other, with a separate section for semi-compounds (type: *arcto-zephyrus*) and a last one for special phenomena. In each of these, I will list the items involved, with a brief explanation of the formation process, adducing, where available, an indication pointing to the approximate chronology of the term's origin, extracted from various sources. Indeed, it must not be forgotten that the term 'neologism' relates these words only to the contemporary dictionaries, not to their actual origin, Verbiest being by

³¹ See R. Hoven, p. 149; the oldest testimonia in English date from 1570 (NED), in French from 1664 (*Trésor*, 9, 206; FEW IV, 117: 1647).

³² R. Pitkäranta, pp. 95- 96.

no means necessarily the *πρῶτος εὑρετής* or *inventor* of these terms, not even when they indeed appear for the first time in his texts!

1.2.1. Formal neologisms (words or word-forms not previously attested in the current Latin dictionaries).

These neologisms *stricto sensu* can in turn be subdivided into several sub-classes:

1.2.1.1. Neologisms through substantivation or ellipsis: a word, formerly exclusively used with an adjectival valence, appears for the first time as a substantive; the substantive valence is, therefore, derived from the original adjectival one by substantivation ("zero-morphem"), the easiest way to create new substantives both in Greek and in Latin. This is the origin of:

— (a) such feminine nomina as: *eclyptica* (linea), *fixa* (stella), *lucida* (stella) — all terms related to astronomy — and *hydragogica*, *hydraulica* and *pneumatica*, the name of three *artes* (< *hydragogica ars*, etc.) derived from pre-existing adjectives after the example of such former Graeco-Latin science-names as *στατική* (τέχνη) / *statice* — *statica* (*ars*) etc.

— (b) such masculina as: *practicus* and *thaumaturgus*; *Mahumetanus*, indicating one of Verbiest's main adversaries, viz. Wu Ming-hsüan. In the latter example, the ellipsis has a certain euphemistic effect, such as in the Christian *malus*, *malignus*.³³

— (c) such neutra as: *anemodicticum* (signum: cf. M, fig. 1); *arenarium* (vas); *chorometricum*, *chronodicticum*, *hydraulicum*, *pendulum*, *†xirometricum* — all names of instruments (through ellipsis of *instrumentum*?), and *polyedrum* (corpus?).

In view of the easy transition from adjective to substantive by way of this process, which always remained active in living Latin, it can be assumed that some of these terms are only momentaneous formations, created by the author *ad hoc* and without further success.

³³ After J. Svennung, *Untersuchungen zu Palladius und zur lateinischen Fach- und Volkssprache* (Uppsala, 1935), p. 272.

A special category is represented by cases in which a part. praes. is used substantivally, approximatively with the value of a 'nomen agentis': these cases, which are not listed above among the neologisms *sensu proprio*, are: *famulans* = *famulus* (AE, p. 15), *observans* = *observator* (AE, p. 24), *collimans* = *collimator* (AE, p. 72); *spectantes* = *spectatores* (AE, p. 93); *gratulans* = *gratulator* (M, fig. 105). Compare such common terms as *serpens*.³⁴ These formations may also be regarded as momentaneous creations of the author.

1.2.1.2. Neologisms through derivation.

1. Nouns:

Here, the following substantive formations are represented: (1) some diminutives with simple or with cumulative suffix, the former with *-culus* in *clavi-culus*, the latter with *-un-cula* (in *-on-stems*) in *digressi-un-cula* and *explicati-un-cula* or with *-ac-idium* in the terminus technicus *pinn-ac-idium*, an alternative of the purely Latin *pinn-ula*; (2) a (semi-) professional name on *-arius*, in *mission-arius*;³⁵ (3) a depreciative derivation on *-aster* is represented in the hapax *astro-log-aster*, referring (again) to the contemporaneous Muslim astronomer Wu Ming-hsüan; this type of derivation was popular during the whole period of *Latinitas* as is shown by the list of F. Seck,³⁶ and by such contemporary formations as Schottus' *surd-aster*³⁷ etc.; (4) *-ica* in *ballist-ica* and *hydragog-ica* are derivations made directly with the Latin substantive *ballista* and the Greek ὑδραγωγός, respectively, both after the many other science-names on *-ica* (cf. sub 1.1); (5) two forms on *-ix* are found in *corn-ix* and *vern-ix*, apparently secondary latinizations of previous Italian formations (see *infra*); (6) abstracta on *-ntia* are represented in **incid-e-ntia* from *incid-e-re* and *extubera-ntia* from *extubera-re*;³⁸ (7) another abstractum on *-tas*, *-tat-is* (Leumann, §328.1) appears in *cari-tas* (*annonae*): the classical meaning "high prices" does not fit well in the series of natural

³⁴ See also M. Benner - E. Tengström, p. 157.

³⁵ See already in 1670 the French equivalent *missionnaire* (Trésor, 11, 892).

³⁶ F. Seck, "Das lateinische Suffix *aster*, *astra*, *astrum*", *Archiv Lateinische Lexicologie*, 1 (1884), 390-404; see also E. Müller-Graupa, "Zum altlat. formus (...)", *Glotta*, 31 (1951), pp. 129-152 (139-144).

³⁷ G. Schottus, *Technica Curiosa, sive mirabilia artis libris XII comprehensa* (Nürnberg, 1664), p. 676.

³⁸ R. Pitkäranta, pp. 53-58.

calamities, listed in AE, p. 29;³⁹ the true sense seems therefore to be rather “period of high prices”, or even “period of dearth”, as the result of a new derivation, directly from the verb *care-re*;⁴⁰ (8) similar formations on *-tio*, *-sio*, derived from part.perf., are represented in *circumvolu-tio*, *tru-sio*, *libella-tio*, and *umbra-tio*, through the part. perf. *circumvolu-tus*, *tru-sus*, *libella-tus* and *umbra-tus*, derived from the verbs *circumvolv-e-re*, *trud-e-re*,⁴¹ *libella-re* and *umbra-re*, relating to instrument building, hydrostatic operations, water-levelling, and a specific painting technique, respectively; (9) a parallel formation on *-tus*, *-tut-* (Leumann, §328.2) is *sub-sul-tus*, built on *sub-silire*, in analogy with the couple *in-silire*: *in-sul-tus* etc.

In the class of adjectives, which is well represented, by far the most productive suffix is (1) *-icus*, of Greek origin. It was part of many ‘ready-made’ learned borrowings from the Greek technological vocabulary in classical Latin (cf. *infra*, sub 1.2.1.5.1), but after a simple analysis it became productive to make new ‘Latin’ derivations as well, always in the technical orbit, and mostly from borrowed Greek stems.⁴² However, it is not impossible that many of these classic Latin formations are in fact hidden borrowings from lost Greek models. This type of derivation was not unknown in medieval Latin, as a text like *De Spera* by Sacrobosco (early 13th century), containing such terms as *antarticus*, *concentricus*, *cosmicus*, *cronicus*, *tropicus* demonstrates. Its great success, however, came in the Renaissance, with the general regeneration of the knowledge of Greek. It is in this line that Verbiest’s neologisms are also to be situated, either his own creations or those taken from his various scientific sources:

- ana-campticus*: < ἀνα + καμπτικός: “bending, flexible” (Arist.);
- anemo-dicticum*, -i, n.: < ἀνεμο- + δεικτικός/ν: “able to show” (philos.; gramm.);
- astr-opticus*: < ἀστρ(ο)- + ὀπτικός: “of / for sight”;
- choro-metricus*: < χωρ(α)- + μετρικός: “metrical”.

³⁹ “...atque aeris vicissitudo, quaeque illam sequuntur, sive pestis, sive alij morbi, sive *caritas* annonae etc., expressis etiam ipsis diebus, quibus venti, fulmina, pluviae, nives et alia ejusmodi contingunt, prognostico plane scrupuloso praedicenda sunt”.

⁴⁰ Micraelius, s.v. prefers a new derivation from the adjective ‘carus’: “*Caritas* annonae est tempus quo annona, qua vivimus, *care* venditur”.

⁴¹ On *trudere*= forcing, installing a force-pump, see M, (p. 45): “aquas vel hauriendo vel *trudendo* in altum...attollere”.

⁴² On the productivity of Greek *-icus* in classical Latin, see M. Fruyt, “Greek *-ικός* en Latin: étude quantitative”, *Revue de Philol., Lit., Hist. Anciennes* 113 (1987), 261- 276.

- chrono-dicticus*: < χρονο- + δεικτικός: “able to show”;
chrono-metricus: < χρονο- + μετρικός;
conicus: < κωνικός: ‘conic’.
tri-gono-metricus: < τριγωνο- + μετρικός;
ana-clasticus: cf. ἀνάκλαστος: “bent back, reflected” (gramm. term!) + -icus;
dracon-icus: < δράκων (stem -οντ-!) + -icus;
embolism-icus: < ἐμβολισμ(ο)- + -icus;
hydr-agog-icus: < ὕδραγωγία + -icus;
meteor-icus: < μετέωρα + -icus;
°parallel-icus (behind the adverb *parallelice*): < Gr. παράλληλος + -icus;
uran-icus: < οὐρανός + -icus;
Tartar-icus: < τάρταρος + -icus;
Tychon-icus: < Τύχων + -icus;
mandarin-icus: mandarinus + -icus.

All these apparently newly created derivations started from original Greek bases, whether previously borrowed in Latin or not; two neo-derivations for contemporary realities, *Tartar-icus* and *Tychon-icus*, the first indicating the class of Manchu rulers inside China since 1644 and their cognates outside, the second the famous 16th-century instrument builder and astronomer who provided Verbiest with both his cosmological view and the prototypes of his instruments, are in a certain sense extensions of Greek stems, as both τάρταρος and Τύχων, -ωνος are well-known Greek words, although indicating another concept. For that matter, this derivational type has extended its ‘domain’ to only one non-Greek noun, i.e. *mandarin-icus*. The derivation respects the rules of Graeco-Latin morphology, except in *dracon-icus*, which has not been derived from the stem -οντ-, thus producing *°dracont-icus*, which indeed appears in French *dracontique* (1771)⁴³, but from the Latin genitive *draconis*.

Apart from this first group of *-icus* derivations, we also have the following other categories of adjectival formations: (2) the neologisms on *-alis*, and after *-l-*, its dissimilated variant *-aris* (Leumann, §313.3): *azimuth-alis*; *dioptr-alis*; *embolism-alis*; *gradi-alis*, *pyramid-alis*; *re-alis*; *trans-vers-alis*; *zodiac-alis*; *(zodiaco-)aequinocti-alis*, versus *armill(a)-aris*, *(circum-)pol-aris*, *fil-aris*, *octangul-aris*, *pol-aris*, *titul-aris*; (3) a

⁴³ Another derivation from the stem *dracon-*, instead of *dracont-*, is given in the occasional *dracon-inus*, quoted in PL and L², s.v.

typical Latin derivation on *-anus* in *Mahumet-anus*, with *-(i)anus* as a regular formative to derive names of groups of persons from various words or names; Neo-Latin models or parallels in the religious atmosphere are *Calvin-ianus*, *Luther-anus*, *Zwingli-anus*⁴⁴ and, of course, *Christianus* (Leumann, §295.1b); (4) other adjectives are derived with *-eus*, namely **aqu-eus* (< *aqua*), in all probability transposed from the classical Latin derivatives of material names (Leumann, §271.1) and, in the same orbit, *chalyb-eus* (*chalybs*); a cumulative variant, also attested in classical Latin is *-ac-eus* (Leumann, §272.2), represented in *cylindr-ac-eus*; (5) newly formed adjectives on *-ius* are all derived from subst. on *-or-* and result in the normal classic type on *-orius*: *aequator-ius*, *cursor-ius* and *observator-ius*;⁴⁵ (6) only once do we find a new formation on *-ilis*, built on a part. perf., following classic patterns: *portat-ilis* from *porta-re* — *porta-tus*, analogous with the more frequent *rotat-ilis* (AE, p. 53), derived from *rota-re* — *rota-tus* (Leumann, §311.2a).

In the category of adverbs, we refer to one neologism on *-atim*, derived regularly from a passive participle on *-atus* (Leumann, §389 Zus. C), in *turbina-tim*: < part. *turbina-tus* (class.); other adverbs are derived from thematic adjectives of the first class through the well-known classical suffix *-e* (Leumann, §386, a): see *chorographic-e*; *magnetic-e*, *parallel-e*, *practic-e*; *speculativ-e*; *theoric-e*. Finally, one adverb is derived from an adj. of the second class, viz. *accliv-e* (M, f. 31) from the adj. *acclivis* (see AE, p. 82; M, f. 32), certainly in analogy with the pair *proclivis*: *proclive* (Lucr.; Macr.).

2. The verbs:

The only instance concerns the denominative *eclypsis* → *eclyps-are*, comparable with classic derivations from *-are* on *-i*-stems (cf. *gravi-s* → *grav-are*: Leumann, §412, A).

⁴⁴ R. Pitkäranta, p. 42 and passim, who refers to the 37 names of sects in Isidorus, *Et.*, 8, 4-5!

⁴⁵ The neutr. *observatorium*, however, apparently created by Galileo in the first half of the 17th cent. (*osservatorio*), and also found in French since 1667 (*observatoire*: Trésor, 12, 365), in English since the same year (*observatory*: NED), is not found in Verbiest's descriptions of the Peking observatory, who always refers to it by means of the old terms *specula* or *turris astroptica* (*mathematica*).

1.2.1.3. Neologisms through compounding.

Here too, purely Latin as well as Greek elements — the latter in their latinized form — appear side by side, more than once in so-called hybrid compounds, as a proof of the composite heritage of the 16th and 17th-century learned tradition in Europe. Therefore, these compounds can be further subdivided into the following groups:

1.2.1.3.1. Purely Latin word-formation:

1°. Nominal compositions:

a) on a nominal stem:

- A prepositional compound such as *°bi-crus* (not attested), *bi-crur-is* (stem *°crus-*);⁴⁶ it may be built after such models as *bi-pes*, *bi-frons*.
- A hypostatic compound with suffix such as *contra-pond-ium* may be built analogically with *super-pondium* (Apuleius); see Bader §§334-338;
- A hypostatic compound without suffixation such as *pro-rex* is analogous with *pro-consul* etc.; see Bader, §§327-333;
- With prefixes *semi-*, productive especially in later Latin (see Bader, §446), and again in Neo-Latin and in 'vulgar' technical derivations: cf. metrological terms such as *semi-digitus*, *semi-quadrans* (after classical *semi-modius* — *sem(i)-uncia*), *semi-signum*;
- Also largely productive since Imperial times are the compounds with a 'governing' prefix plus a suffix (see Bader, §343) such as in *circum-pol-aris* (< *°circum-pol-alis*, through dissimilation: see supra);
- *oct-angul-aris* is certainly built after *tri-angul-aris* (Mart. Cap), itself being a dissimilatory variant of the *-alis* derivation *°triangulalis*;
- *octo-later-is* can be compared to *quadri-laterus* (AE, p. 7, 41), with a variation *-is* / *-us*, well-known in Latin adjectival derivations (see Bader, §§192-199);

b) on a verbal stem:

- a hypostatic compound with suffix (on which see Bader, §267; Leumann, §275, B), see **prae-lud-ium* derived from *prae-lud-ere* (Ecclesiastical Latin);

⁴⁶ See on this type of compound F. Bader, *La formation des composés nominaux du latin*. Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon, 2ième série, nr. 46 (Paris, 1962), pp. 160-164.

- another hypostatic formation, without suffix (see Bader, §§327 - 333), is represented in the 'terminus technicus' *incubus* ≈ *incubare*; it indeed represents a new creation, directly on the verb *incubare*, rather than an extension with semantic shift of the classical *incubus*: "nightmare". It is a substitution for Greek *φελλός*, Lat. *tympnum*: "scaphium inversum" (Vitr., I,6,5);
- *refluxus* is derived from *refluere*, through analogy with *fluxus* (Plin.) from *fluere*;⁴⁷
- *trans-vers-alis* is rebuilt on *trans-vers-arius* (Caes.) just as Augustinus rebuilt *anni-vers-alis* on *anni-vers-arius* (Varro): see Bader, §333.

2°) Verbal composition:

The few examples are all of the same type, i.e. prepositional compounds:

ap-planare, *circum-armare*, *circum-cursitare*,⁴⁸ *co-incidere*, *cor-responderere*, *super-affigere*; cf. also *col-limare*, in fact a wrong reading for classical *col-lineare* (see *infra*, sub 1.2.3.1).

1.2.1.3.2. Compounds existing of only Greek elements.

In the next cases, the Greek compound behind the superficially latinized spelling is not attested in our ancient Greek documentation; it may have been built, therefore, in modern times, mostly to indicate new technical realities or the like:

- *anemo-scopus*: "wind-observer", < Gr. άνεμο- + σκοπός; the most probable model seems to have been Greek μετεωροσκόπος (Plato).
- *anti-sacoma*: "opposing (apparent) weight" < Gr. άντί + σάκωμα, Neo-Latin *sacoma*: "(apparent) weight", with a prefix άντι-, known in some other Greek technical compositions, such as άντί-σπαστος etc.;⁴⁹
- *horo-logus* (adj.): < Gr. ώρα- + λόγος, with -o- instead of -α- as the normal vowel of the composition, and -logus, Greek -λογος in its original meaning of "reader (reading)"; cf. such compounds as Greek ψευδο-λόγος and classical *horologium*;
- *hydro-statica*: a Neo-Latin diversification of the Greek and Latin **statica* (cf. *supra*, sub 1.1);

⁴⁷ See also R. Pitkänta, p. 54.

⁴⁸ Cf the derivation *circumcursatio* in BT, 1694.

⁴⁹ *Antisacoma* was introduced by Snellius as a counterpart of the Vitruvian *sacoma* in his Latin translation of Stevin's work (Leiden, 1605, t. IV, pp. 34-35; rendering *stalt-wicht*).

- *organo-theca*: < Gr. ὄργανο- + θήκη, after such Graeco-Latin models as *biblio-theca*, *pinaco-theca*; cf. such Neo-Latin innovations as *raro-theca*, etc.;

- *panto-metrum*: Gr. παντο- + μέτρον: the classical Latin has only some prepositional compounds such as *dia-*, *epi-metrum*, whereas Greek has nominal models such as σιτό-μετρον, ὀδό-μετρον;

- *sparto-statica*: < Gr. σπαρτο- + στατική: another nominal specialisation of **statica* (cf. *hydro-statica* supra), with Greek σπαρτο-;⁵⁰

Compounds with suffix:

- *chrono-metr-ia* / *-icus*: “chronometry, -metric”: < Gr. χρονο- + μετρία / μετρικός.

- *horolo-techn-ia*: abbreviated from °*horo-lo[gio]-techn-ia*: < ps.-Gr. ὄρο-λογιο- + τεχν-ία; there are no Latin models for such compounds with *-technia*,⁵¹ while classical Greek has only πολυ-τεχνία and χειρο-τεχνία!

- *poly(h)-edrus*: “many-sided” / *poly(h)edrum*, -i, n.: “a many-sided solid”;⁵² as the ancient Greek πολύεδρος (Plut.): “with many seats” has a different meaning, Neo-Latin *poly(h)edrus* may be derived by composition from Gr. πολυ- + ἔδρα: “face of a regular solid” (Iambl.) and subsequent metaplasma (-a → -us);

- *thermo-scop-ium*: < Gr. θερμο- + σκοπ- + suffix *-ium*; the only Latin model is the Late Latin (Sid. Ap.) *horo-scop-ium*, but in classical Greek the parallels are more convincing: cf., always in the field of sciences, such instrument-names as ὕδρο-σκόπιον “hydrostatic instrument” (Galenos); id.: “waterclock” (Syn.); ὥρο-σκόπιον (Ptol.), μετεωρο-σκόπιον (Ptol.). Learned compositions on *-scope*, meaning “instrument”, such as *meteoroscope* (FEW VI, 2, 59), *hygroscope* (1666) and *thermoscope* (since 1690: Furetiere) are already attested in French from the 16th cent.; cf. Engl. *hygroscope* (1665), Italian *igroscopio* (1681), etc.;

- *trigono-metr-ia*:⁵³ < Gr. τριγωνο- + μετρ- + suffix *-ia*: in Latin, *geo-metr-ia* is to my knowledge the only parallel with nominal first element; in Greek they are more numerous: στερεο-μετρία, χωρο-μετρία, σιτο-μετρία etc.;

- *urano-log-ia*: < Gr. οὐρανο- + λογ- + *-ia*⁵⁴.

⁵⁰ On σπάρτον in Greek physics: R. Pitkäranta, “Zur wissenschaftlichen Terminologie einer mathematischen Dissertation in Turku 1645”, *Arctos. Supplementum II. Studia I. Kajanto* (Helsinki, 1985), pp. 215-227 (p. 225).

⁵¹ Besides, R. Pitkäranta has no Neo-Latin parallels for such formations!

⁵² Micraelius, s.v. specifies: “...pluribus quam sexhedris seu superficiebus”.

⁵³ See R. Pitkäranta, “Terminologie”, 218-219.

⁵⁴ On Neo-Latin compounds with *urano-*, see R. Pitkäranta, p. 95f., on those with *-logia* pp. 74-97.

These pseudo-compositions are regularly made through the accumulation of two 'ready-made' Greek terms or Greek stems, such as in *anemoscopus*, *anti-sacoma*, *horo-logus*, *hydro-statica*, *organo-theca*, *pantometrum*, *sparto-statica*, of which the first shows its usual form in other pre-existing Greek compounds, and the compound itself follows good Greek models. In a second group, the neologism is morphologically characterized, on the level of the Latin composition, by a suffix, i.e. either *-ia* (*chrono-metr-ia*, *horolo-techn-ia*, *trigono-metr-ia*, *urano-log-ia*), or *-ium* (*thermo-scop-ium*) or by metaplasm *-us* (*poly-hedr-us*). These two classes continue a type of Latin word-formation already productive in classical times (Bader, §266). The Latin models are inexistant or not very convincing, and it is more likely to think that these compounds were actually made with Greek elements, after Greek models, reflecting a thorough mastery of the Greek vocabulary; it is, therefore, not mere chance that, as far as I know, none of these formations are found in medieval Latin.

1.2.1.3.3. Hybrid compounds:

- *clavi-cymbalum*: i.e. Latin *clavus* + Greek κύμβαλον, Lat. *cymbalum* with *-i-* as the normal 'Kompositionsfuge' in a compound of Latin type;
- *plani-sphaer-ium*: i.e. Lat. *planus* + Gr. σφαῖρα / Lat. *sphaera*, and *-i-* as in the former case;
- Compounds of Latin *semi-* and a stem of Greek origin, such as *semi-cylindrum*, *semi-diameter*.

The Greek element in each of these cases had been already borrowed in classical Latin, so that these compounds can be defined rather as inner-Latin formations, instead of hybrid Graeco-Latin formations.

1.2.1.4. Neologisms through semi-composition: the multi-word neologisms.

A first type, representing syntagmata in which real compounding has actually not yet occurred: formations such as *regula proportionum*, *radius astronomicus*, *quadratum geometricum*, *progressio arithmetica* and *trigonometrica*, etc.

A second type represents a semi-compound in the proper sense, where two words are combined into one occasional unit, indicated by the use of

the first element as a thematic stem (after Greek or pseudo-Greek examples) followed by a hyphen. See in Verbiest such formations as *albo-niger*; *albo-ruber*; *Arabo-Sinicus*; *arcto-zephyrus*; *ligno-metallicus*; *noctu-diurnus*; *zodiaco-aequatorius*; *zodiaco-aequinoctialis* (Leumann, §34).⁵⁵ By their nature, they can be regarded as the author's momentaneous formations; on the other hand, it has become a very prolific type of neo-formation in our modern scientific language: e.g. Graeco-Latin, etc.

1.2.1.5. Neologisms through borrowing.

Borrowing is a very important source of neologisms in all languages and vocabularies (esp. the technical), frequently occurring in a context usually indicated as “Wörter und Sachen” (the word or name is borrowed in connection with an object, a notion etc.). This category is also well-represented in Verbiest's language and mainly shows borrowings from Greek and the contemporary national languages, as can be seen in the following overview:

1.2.1.5.1. Direct borrowings from the Greek (without Latin intermediary, as far as I can see):

- A first series consists of borrowed Greek derivations with -ικός-ending, both substantives and adjectives:

- *catoptrica*: < Gr. κατοπτρική (Procl., in *Eucl.*); cf. supra sub 1.1;
- *chorographicus*: < Gr. χωρογραφικός (Strab.);
- *conicus*: < Gr. κωνικός;
- *cylindricus*: < Gr. κυλινδρικός (a.o. Hero, *Pneumat.*);
- (ligno-) *metallicus*: < Gr. μεταλλικός (a.o. Galen.);
- *meteorologicus*: < Gr. μετεωρολογικός (a.o. Arist.);
- *optica*: < Gr. ὀπτική: cf. supra sub 1.1;
- *parastaticus*: < Gr. παραστατικός (a.o. Antioch. Ascal.);
- *practicus*: < Gr. πρακτικός (pass.).

As the Greek model of *anacampticus*, viz. ἀνακαμπτικός, is attested only from the 12th cent.(!), I prefer the hypothesis of a Neo-Latin creation through the borrowing of the common classical Greek simplex καμπτικός: “bending, flexible” (Arist.!), with a secondary prefixation ἀνα-, *ana-*, to express the new concept of “*re*-fracting” within the frame of the discovery of the “Laws of refraction” (Snellius).

⁵⁵ On the classical models of this ‘Kopulativcomposita’ — called ‘Mischungskomposita’ by R. Pitkäranta, ‘Terminologie’, p. 218.

- Further borrowings are:

- *astrolabium*: < ἀστρολάβιον (Synezius); ἀστρολάβος, in Ptolemy and Proclus;
- *character*: < χαρακτήρ (Plut., etc.): “figure of letters”;
- *cochlea*: < κοχλίας (Apollonius Pergaeus; Hero-Pappus);
- *diaphragma*: < διάφραγμα (a.o. in Hero, in the sense of: “partition”);⁵⁶
- *ellipsis* (ms.: *eclipsis*): < ἔλλειψις (Apollon Perg.);⁵⁷
- *geod(a)esia*:⁵⁸ < γεωδαισία (Arist.; Proclus in Eucl.);
- *glossocomum*: < γλωσσόκομον (Hero; Pappus);
- *halo*, -*onis*, f.: < ἅλως (a.o. Arist.; Galen.);
- *hydragogus*, -i, m.: < ὕδραγωγός (Plut.);
- *meteora*: < μετεώρα (Arist.);
- *meteorologia*: < μετεωρολογία (Arist.);
- *pantocrator*: < παντοκράτωρ (passim);
- *parallaxis* (astr.): < παράλλαξις (Ptol.);
- *peritrochium* < περιτρόχιον (Pappus, 1060.9);
- *polygonum* < πολύγωνον (Galen.);
- *polygonus*: < πολύγωνος (a.o. Arist.);
- *praxis*: < πράξις (passim);
- *prototypum*: < πρωτότυπον (subst.); -ος (Pollux);
- *thaumaturgus*:⁵⁹ < θαυματουργός (Athenaeus).

Apart from some observations concerning a secondary semantic shift (*diaphragma*, *glossocomum*, *pantocrator*), on which below (1.2.2), some other remarks may be made here: (a) the source of the term *halo*, *halo-nis* was not found in living classical Latin (the quotation by Sen., *N.H.*, I 2.1⁶⁰ does not contradict this), and it is not a direct continuation from the Greek model ἅλως, gen. ἅλω, as is proven both by its *casus obliqui* (*halon-*), and by the Italian *halone* (since Galilei), Spanish *halon*. On the contrary, it is directly derived from the ancient Greek variant ἅλων,

⁵⁶ The classical Latin has only the purely medical sense of ‘midriff’; the Neo-Latin term seems to have been borrowed from Hellenistic Greek through the translation of the Hero-Pappus texts by Commandinus: see also Galilei, in a letter quoted by W. Schmidt in his Hero-edition (Teubner), vol. I, p. XLVI - XLVII.

⁵⁷ The form *ellipsis* is already in Kepler, who probably was also the first to borrow it from Greek (but see PL, s.v. *eclipsis*).

⁵⁸ On its meaning in the 17th century: R. Pitkäranta, ‘Terminologie’, p. 219.

⁵⁹ On its specific meaning in the 17th century — relating to surprise-gadgets! — which can partly cover Verbiest’s use in AE, p. 77: see R. Pitkäranta, ‘Terminologie’, p. 225.

⁶⁰ “Hunc Graeci ἅλω vocant, nos dicere ‘coronam’ aptissime possumus”. On this Greek form, and the Greek spelling of this term in the Senecan manuscripts, see: D. Vottero, “La grafia dei termini d’origine greca nelle opere filosofiche di Seneca”, *Atti della Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, 108 (1974), pp. 311- 339 (p. 311, n.2; 325).

-ωοϋς, of which the meaning regularly was “threshing-floor”; that exactly this term was metaphorically transposed to the celestial haloes in Greek is explicitly attested by another passage in Seneca, *N.H.*, I 2.3, substituting Lat. *area* for *halo*, proving once more that this Greek word was felt as a ‘foreign’ body in Latin: “...*tales splendorēs Graeci ‘areas’ vocavere* [i.e. Greek ἄλωνας], *quia fere terendis frugibus destinata loca rotunda sunt*”. As Aristotle uses the former version (ἄλωϋς) in his *Meteorology*, the medieval *halo*, *halonis* (since the 13th cent.: Vitelo) and its Neo-Latin successor suggest that Aristotle’s influence even in meteorological terminology was not undisputed; (b) it is interesting to note that *meteora* is used by Verbiest still in its ancient meaning of “atmospheric phenomena”, whereas this term in the (late) 17th century underwent considerable restriction and specialization into the meaning of “heavenly body” (FEW VI, 2, pp. 58-59); (c) *pantocrator* is probably nothing but a ‘Greek’ translation of the Dutch term *almagtigh*, as S. Stevin quite poetically had named his new invention; it is quite parallel to the term *pancratium*, also introduced in the 17th century to indicate an engine for lifting heavy weights; (d) *parallaxis* is also represented in medieval Latin but not, in the sources available to us, in its technical meaning of “parallax”; it is therefore more probable that the 17th-century term represents a new borrowing from the Greek, rather than a re-use of the former Latin formation, with a complex semantic shift.

The most interesting conclusion, however, concerns the origin of the borrowings: as most of these terms stem from authors which had been translated into Latin, either in medieval times (e.g. Aristotle and Ptolemaeus), or in the 16th and 17th centuries (Euclid and Hero-Pappus),⁶¹ I think it was precisely through these translations that these Greek terms may have been introduced into Latin (medieval or Neo-Latin respectively); this has already been demonstrated, for instance, for such a term as *meteora*,⁶² but it may also be the case for several of the other terms listed with an asterisk (*). In this hypothesis, Verbiest used these terms as ‘Latin’ terms of Greek origin, not as Greek borrowings.

⁶¹ On the rediscovery of Hero’s text and its influence in the 17th century see W. Schmidt, “Heron von Alexandria im 17. Jhdt.”, *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Mathematik* 8 (1898), pp. 195-214.

⁶² Cf. E. Gilson, *La philosophie au Moyen Age des origines patristiques à la fin du XIVe siècle*, second edition (Paris, 1952), pp. 550-551: the Latin term was created in Oxford in the 12th cent., when Alfredus Anglicus commented on Aristotle’s *Meteora*.

Finally, there are two words which at first glance appear to represent direct Greek borrowings, but more probably are neo-creations: first, as Greek ἀντι-σάκωμα occurs only in one Egyptian papyrological text of the Byzantine period (PSI 238.10), also his *anti-sacoma* may represent a Neo-Latin creation. Also the Greek ὥρολόγος is attested once, viz. in one of the fragments of Chaeremon, a philosophical and historical writer, preserved through Porph., indicating an Egyptian priest, in which it seems hard to recognize the source for Neo-Latin *horologus*: “time-speaking / time indicating”; therefore, despite the first impression, this transparent compound may also represent a case of Neo-Latin creation.

1.2.1.5.2. Probable borrowings from European ‘national’ languages.

Several times, Verbiest explicitly refers to a borrowing from the *sermo vulgaris*, i.e. one of the contemporary ‘national’ vernaculars [in opposition to the Latin language]. One of these is Italian, the source language of the following borrowings:

AE, p. 64: “...ac praeterea 5 circulos ex metallo fusos in formam eorum, quos *cornices* et *frisas* architecti *vulgari nomine* appellant, superaffixi...”;

M, f. 102: “...in amplo et profundo vase, *quam porcellanam* vocant”; AE, p. 60: “Vas horologum erat amplum et profundum (*porcellanam* Sinicam *vulgo* appellant)...; quae omnia ingeniosa pictoris manu in figuram piscis transformavi, qui, quando aqua *porcellanam* implebat, in superficie ipsius aquae natare videbatur”;

AE, p. 49: “...qui et ipsi *pedestali* (ut termino architectis usitato utar) trabibus aeneis in crucem obliquam decussatis innituntur...”.

These terms require further comment:

cornix: “cornice”. A medieval reference for this term, in this meaning, is given in Blaise, without any further source indication. It is by no means identical with classical Latin *cornix*, which lacks this sense, but as the Italian *cornice* (perhaps a descendant of the former Latin term) has exactly the same meaning since the 1st half of the 14th cent. (Trésor, 6, 197), the origin of this (late) medieval neologism *cornix* may be Italian, -ix being the latinization of Italian -ice;

frisa: “frieze”, quoted in the same passage; it is in all probability a latinization of the North-Italian *friso*, *freso*, in its turn a late representative of Lat. *phrygium* (Trésor, 8, 1271);

pedestal, -is: “pedestal”: for morphological reasons, this form is neither the continuation of the Medio-Latin *pedestallus*, -i (Du Cange), nor

does it fit directly with it; therefore it is rather a parallel new borrowing from the latter's Italian successor *pedestal*, which is attested since the 1st half of the 16th cent. (Trésor, 13, 342); morphologically, it has been adapted to the nearest morphological class, the Latin neutra on *-al, -alis*;

porcellana: originally "porcellana (terra)", but in Verbiest "a vessel of porcelain". In this case too, the first examples of the latter meaning are found in Italian (since the 14th cent., but probably originating from Marco Polo's *Millione*); since the 16th cent., this sense is sporadically also found in Portuguese and Latin. A precursor of Verbiest's application is found in the *Novus Atlas Sinensis* (1655) of the Italian (!) China-missionary M. Martini, perhaps also the direct source for Verbiest.

The 'vulgar' source language of these 4 terms — of which 3 find their origin in the technical language of the architects — appears to have been Italian; this reminds us of the Italian term *ingeniere* (Lat. *ingeniarius*),⁶³ quoted twice in M, viz. in fig. 66 and 97.

Italian is also the source of several other 'cultural' borrowings:

bombarda: the author uses this term as a simple synonym of the classic *tormentum* (for shooting *pilas* and *globos*), opposite to *ballista* (for *missilia*); this use covers the late antique situation, as described by Ph. Fleury.⁶⁴ The Neo-Latin *bombarda* is apparently a mere latinization of the Italian *bombarda*, already attested in the early 14th century;⁶⁵

gazetta: "newspaper", a superficial latinization (see the unusual *-z-*) of the Italian *gazetta* (piccola *gaza*?) — originating before 1580 (Borgini) — or of one of its 'national' descendants, e.g. the French *gazette* (since the end of the 16th cent.: Robert, s.v.), and the English *gazetti* (!) (since 1605: NED);

millio: "million", in all probability the latinization of Italian *milio(ne)*, an augmentative extension of Latin *mille*, attested since M. Polo and the 14th century;⁶⁶ see, however, an early French testimonium in 1266 (Trésor, 11, 829).

⁶³ See this term in Verbiest's letter of July 16, 1677, quoted by I. Dunyn-Szpot, in ARSI, JS 109, II, p. 126.

⁶⁴ Ph. Fleury, "Vitruve et la nomenclature des machines de jet romains", *Revue des études latines*, 59 (1981), pp. 216-234.

⁶⁵ See R. Pitkäranta, 'Terminologie', p. 227.

⁶⁶ See B. Bianchi, "Storia dell' i mediana (...)", *Archivio glottologico italiano*, 13 (1892-1894), p. 217, and B. Migliorini, *Storia della lingua italiana* (Firenze, 1983), p. 232.

vernix: “varnish”; apart from the medieval Latin *veronice* (8th cent.), *vernix* appears already in 1296 in Latin sources from the British Isles (L); the Neo-Latin *vernix*, then, is either a continuation of the latter — isolated — term, or a superficial latinization of the Italian *vernice* or of its French counterpart, attested since the 12th century (Robert).

Another small group of terms finds its origin in Portuguese, which borrowed them from several other Far-Eastern languages:

bonzius: Already in the middle of the 16th cent. the Portuguese borrowed *bonzo* from Japanese *bôzu* (< Chin.-Jap. *bonsô*): “a buddhist monk”,⁶⁷ from where it entered other European languages, such as Latin: see already J.P. Maffei in a letter of 1551, ed. 1588, p. 12a⁶⁸ and, as the most immediate model of Verbiest, A. Schall von Bell, *Historica Relatio*, p. 207 and passim. It is not clear why the result of the latinization is not *°bonzus* (-i), but *bonz-ius*!?

colaus: current latinization, at least since M. Ricci — N. Trigault (beginning of the 17th century) of the semi-official Chinese title *ko-lao*,⁶⁹ the first ‘European’ testimonia, however, are found in Portuguese, and go back to 1552 (*colous*).⁷⁰ Its morphological adaptation as a Latin thematic -o- stem (*ko-lao* → *co-la-us*) was self-evident.

mandarinus: as there were no Latin personal designations available on -inus (Leumann, §296 I), this word is the latinization of a Romance derivation, either the Portuguese *mandarim*, or its Italian counterpart *mandarino*, first appearing in 1514; both are borrowed⁷¹ from Malay *mantari* or from Hindi *mantrin*; in the latter form, the Romance suffix -im, -ino was visibly prepared; the depreciative value of the Romance -ino derivations fits well with the general attitude of the Europeans towards the Chinese prominent, as it emanates from the contemporary sources.

pataca: a superficial latinization of Portuguese *pataca* (*patacão*), itself of Arabic origin.

Finally, two (three) terms — relating to astronomy — are borrowings by medieval Latin, probably directly, from Arabic:

⁶⁷ See the quotations in S.R. Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, segunda edizione (repr. Hamburg, 1982), I, pp. 138-139.

⁶⁸ Quoted by Chr. Helfer, *Lexicon Auxiliare*, Editio tertia (Saarbrücken, 1991), p. 134, quoting from Maffei's *Selectarum epistolarum ex India libri quatuor* (Venetiis, 1588).

⁶⁹ Cf. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford, 1985), nr. 3174; S. R. Dalgado, II, p. 296.

⁷⁰ S.R. Dalgado, I, p. 296.

⁷¹ See P.M. D'Elia, *Fonti Ricciane. Storia dell'introduzione del Cristianesimo in Cina*, 3 vols (Roma, 1942- 1949), I, p. 55, n. 7; S. R. Dalgado, II, p. 22.

alidada, prob. borrowed directly from Arabic (FEW, XIX, p. 73; Trésor, 2, 508); the first testimonia date from the 13th century (PL); see further French *lalidada* (1562), *alidade* (1585) and Latin *al(h)idada* (Clavius). On Verbiest's anomalous spelling *alilada*, clearly recognizable in the xylograph copies of the CL, see *infra*, sub 1.0;

azimuth, the medieval basis (Sacrobosco)⁷² of the Neo-Latin derivation *azimuth-alis* (see *infra*); see also L (1326), Engl. *azimuth* since 1391 (NED), Italian *azimuth* since E. Danti (16th cent.), Fr. *azimuth* since 1544 (Trésor, 3, 1159);

nadir, borrowed in medieval Latin from the Arab *nazir*. The first occurrence known to me is in Sacrobosco (early 13th century); later testimonia in the 'national' languages, such as Italian *nadir* (1st half of the 14th cent.), French *nadir* (since 1366: Trésor, 11, 1297) may be the echo of Sacrobosco's unceasing success.

1.2.5.1.3. Conclusion on neologisms through borrowing:

The 26 borrowings from ancient Greek (i.e. 14% of the total number of neologisms) make up a not insignificant number, reflecting the acquaintance with Greek in 16th and 17th century scientific circles. Moreover, a personal element can perhaps be seen in the fact that Verbiest, before becoming a missionary in the Far East, was for several years a professor of ancient Greek in the Jesuit college of Brussels. On the other hand, several of these borrowings, viz. the medieval ones (*optica*; *meteora*) were in Verbiest's time already part of an established Latin tradition, since they were borrowed from Greek in the 12th century during the translations of Aristotle etc. Terms clearly or in all probability borrowed from scientific authors such as Hero and Pappus could have been taken by Verbiest and his contemporaries from the 16th-century Latin translations of those same authors by F. Commandinus.

Apart from Greek, Italian seems to have been the most prominent source language, but here too the transition of original Italian words into Latin may have occurred before Verbiest, and it is not clear in how far the strong Italian element in the contemporary China mission, even in Verbiest's immediate context (M. Martini; L. Buglio; F. Grimaldi), and

⁷² On the date of Sacrobosco's *De Sphaera*, see L. Thorndike, *The 'Sphere' of Sacrobosco and its Commentators* (Chicago, 1949), p. 5.

in how far his own command of Italian — although mainly passive⁷³ — played a role in this process. In the case of *porcellana*, however, it becomes quite attractive to hypothesize a direct link between Verbiest's knowledge of this term, in its sense of "vessel of porcelain", and the work of M. Martini. Also, Verbiest's Latin terms for Far Eastern *realia* (such as *bonzius*; *colaus*; *mandarinus*) are fully in accordance with those found in the Latin writings of his predecessors; they derive, mainly through Portuguese mediation, from various Asian sources. Finally, some astronomical terms of Arabic origin had already been assimilated into the technological vocabulary of astronomy in medieval Latin (*alidada*, *azimuth*, *nadir*) or at least by the middle of the 16th century (Clavius); this is the language of Verbiest's direct sources, from which he adopted, quite naturally, the established terminology.

An unexpected conclusion in this dossier is the almost complete absence of Chinese loan words, with the exception of *colaus* and *bonzius* (through Portuguese mediation). Here a special *excursus* may be inserted on the distinct ways in which Verbiest fit the inevitable Chinese names of his 'story' in the Latin context.

a) Borrowing and assimilation of Chinese proper names.

In this corpus, the number of Chinese proper names, especially that of anthroponyms, is also small, i.a. because the European public, being unacquainted with Chinese micro-*realia* and the Chinese language, was not particularly interested in them. The same conclusion has been drawn concerning many other Jesuit reports to Europe, e.g. the *Litterae Annuae*, and has been explained also from a certain "horreur des détails précis" nourished by a "culture latine, trop soucieuse d'élégance".⁷⁴ I list here the toponyms as well as the anthroponyms which appear in our text corpus (see 1.0), comparing them, where possible, with the corresponding variants in earlier or contemporary Jesuit sources on China.

Geographical names:

Cantoniensis: i.e. *Cantoni-ensis*, the regular Latin derivation of the toponym *Canton-ia*, the occasional latinization of Chinese Kuang-tung,

⁷³ See his own testimony in his correspondence: see H. Josson & L. Willaert, p.440, n.3.

⁷⁴ Cf. J. Dehergne, "Les Lettres annuelles des Missions jésuites de Chine au temps des Ming (1581-1644)", *Archivum Historicum S. J.* 49 (1980), p. 380.

as attested i.a. by G. Gabiani:⁷⁵ "...in *Quam Tum provinciae Urbe primariâ Quam Cheu, vulgari nomine Cantonia dicta...*"; *Cantoniensis* is found in Gabiani, De Rougemont,⁷⁶ Verbiest.⁷⁷ Moreover, there is *Canton*, *-onis*, also in Verbiest (C, p. 173, 174, 465), itself the latinization of the hispanized toponym *Canton* (C, p. 278; 407 [in the autograph!]), of which the regular derivation should be *Canton-ensis* (Gabiani, 606 etc.); M. Martini (*Atlas*, p. 132) has "*Quangtung* provincia".

Cochinchina: Apart from variants like *Cocincina* in Ricci, N 317 and even *Concincina* in other Italian sources such as Chr. Burrus, quoted in A. Kircher,⁷⁸ we read *Cochinchina* as early as 1622 in the correspondence of J. Terrentius,⁷⁹ as in Martini (*Atlas*, p. 2; 3). The first element represents Chinese *Kowchin*, a name for Annam and Cambodia;⁸⁰

Fokinensis: unusual derivation of the Chinese province name *Fu-chien*, in then current 17th-century spelling *Fo kien* or *Fokien*, as in M. Boym;⁸¹ M. Martini (*Atlas*, p. 121: "*Fokien* provincia"); G. Gabiani (p. 370 etc.); its prevalent — and normal — derivation was either *Fokien-ensis* (Gabiani, p. 479) or — by haplology — *Fokiensis* (De Rougemont, p. 26);

Hu Quam: the name of one of China's 15 provinces, found in the same spelling in F. De Rougemont (p. 234), G. Gabiani (p. 352), G. de Magalhães,⁸² Ph. Couplet.⁸³ Other spellings are *Uquam* in M. Ricci (N 517), *Huquang* in M. Boym (passim), *Hu Quang* in M. Martini (*Atlas*, p. 74);

Japonia and *Japones*: both forms are well established since the 16th century; cf. also the correspondence of J. Terrentius (Gabrieli, p. 496): "*Pater Japon...*"; id., p. 500: "*Japonia*";

Lu Keu: this spelling in the copy of M has proven to be authentic, as it corresponds to that in the autograph of C, p. 168: *Lu Keu kiao*;⁸⁴ it is

⁷⁵ G. Gabiani, *Incrementa Sinicae Ecclesiae* (Viennae, 1673), p. 474; cf. Approb.; p. 399; 579 etc.

⁷⁶ F. De Rougemont, *Historia Tartaro-Sinica nova* (Louvain, 1673), p. 6.

⁷⁷ *Cantonensis* in the edition of H. Josson & L. Willaert, passim is in all cases a wrong 'correction' for the correct form *Cantoniensis* in the autographs!

⁷⁸ A. Kircher, *China Illustrata* (...) (Amsterdam, 1667), p. 145-146.

⁷⁹ G. Gabrieli, 'Giovanni Schreck Linceo Gesuita e Missionario in Cina e le sue Lettere dall'Asia', *Rendiconti dell' Accademia dei Lincei. Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, s. VI, vol. 12, 5-6 (1936), pp. 462-514 (p. 508).

⁸⁰ See i.a. H.A. Giles, *A Glossary of Reference on Subjects connected with the Far East*, third edition (London, 1900) p. 54.

⁸¹ M. Boym, *Flora Sinensis* (Vienna, 1656), p. d.

⁸² G. de Magalhães, *Nouvelle Relation de la Chine* (Paris, 1688), p. 41.

⁸³ Ph. Couplet, *Catalogus Patrum Societatis Jesu* (Paris, 1686), p. 17; 27; 39 etc.

⁸⁴ Here too the spelling in the edition by H. Josson & L. Willaert is arbitrary and erroneous.

identical with the transcription in F. De Rougemont (p. 324), and in G. de Magalhães (p.34); obsolete transcriptions are *Lo-keu* in Pr. Intorcetta⁸⁵ and *Lo-co-kiao* in A. Greslon (quoted by Intorcetta, p. 35);

Macaum: current latinization of the Chinese-Portuguese toponym Macao, of which an obsolete older variant was *Amacaum* (J. Terrentius [Gabrieli, p. 501]), reflecting the former Portuguese *Amacao*, and the Chinese 'etymon' *A-man-ngao*; see M. Martini, *Atlas*, p. 134.⁸⁶ By interpreting the final -o in the Portuguese forms as a Latin locative ablative, a nominative (A)*Macaum* was the normal issue;

Pekinum: Chin. *Pei-ching* was also transcribed *Pacchino* (e.g. M. Ricci, N 523),⁸⁷ *Pechinum* or *Pequinum* (Trigault, p. 341; 440; etc.), *Pekino* (Intorcetta, p. 40 & passim), *Pe kim* (G. de Magalhães, p. 41; Ph. Couplet, p. 5; 34; F. De Rougemont, p. 182; 283), *Peking* (M. Boym, passim; M. Martini, *Atlas*, p. 27; 28 etc.) and, last but not least, *Pekinum* in J. Terrentius (Gabrieli, p. 511). Verbiest's *Pekinum* may represent either a superficial latinization of the Italian *Pekino*, *Pequino* (see Ricci-Trigault; Terrentius; Intorcetta, and see Verbiest's own variant *Pequinensis*, twice in AE [p. 1; p. 40]), or a retrograde derivation from *Pekinensis*, itself the assimilatory derivation from the Portuguese, and thus widespread, toponym *Pekim* (°*Pekim-ensis*; see also s.v. *Tumkinensis*);

Su Chuen: Chin. *Ssu-ch'uan*; Verbiest's spelling returns in *Suchuen* in M. Boym (*Suchuen*), M. Martini (*Atlas*, p. 3; 65), A. Schall⁸⁸ (p. 129; 195), G. de Magalhães (p. 41); Ph. Couplet (p. 28; 32; 37 etc.), versus the older orthographies, such as *Suciuen* in M. Ricci (N312), *Sutschun* in J. Terrentius (Gabrieli, p. 506) a.o.;

Tumkinensis: common derivation of the Chin. country name *Tung-ching*, Port. *Tumkim*; the spelling *Tumkim* returns in G. de Magalhães (p. 41), but M. Boym (p. d) spells *Tunchin*, and M. Martini (*Atlas*, p. 25) in his turn *Tungking*. *TumkiNensis* seems to be a dissimilated variant of °*Tumkim-ensis* (cf. supra: *Pekinensis*);

Xan Si: see the same spelling in M. Boym (p. d); M. Martini (*Atlas*, p. 37); A. Schall (*Xansy*: p. 189); G. de Magalhães (p. 41); Ph. Couplet (p. 11); F. De Rougemont (p. 199); G. Gabiani (p. 265) etc.; distinctly different is the transcription *Sciansi* in M. Ricci (N 516);

⁸⁵ Pr. Intorcetta, *Compendiosa Narratione dello Stato della Missione Cinese* (Rome, 1672), p. 74.

⁸⁶ On other former European and Chinese variants, see P. Pelliot, *T.P.*, 31 (1935), p. 67.

⁸⁷ On this strange transcription: P.M. D'Elia, I, p.15, n. 1.

⁸⁸ Cf. *Lettres et Mémoires d'Adam Schall S.J.*, éditées par le P. Henri Bernard S.J. *Relation Historique* (Tientsin, 1942).

Xen Si: cf. the same transcription in M. Boym (p. d); M. Martini (*Atlas*, p. 43); G. de Magalhães (p. 41); A. Schall (Xensy: 123); Ph. Couplet (p. 18); F. de Rougemont (p. 128); G. Gabiani (p. 418). Cf. the older spelling *Scensi* in M. Ricci (N 516).

To check in how far these (and other) printed transcriptions reflect Verbiest's own spelling, let us compare them with the spelling of the same names in Latin autographs in his hand preserved in his correspondence. This leads to two surprising conclusions. First: the comparison proves that the spelling in the edition by H. Josson & L. Willaert is wholly unreliable, as the authentic orthographies for Chinese names have been systematically replaced with their 'modern' counterpart,⁸⁹ and even in the latinized Chinese names a fictitious variant has sometimes been substituted for the authentic form: this is the case with *Canton-ensis*, which was wrongly substituted for the only correct form in the autograph letters *Cantoni-ensis*, proving that the spelling in AE (Preface, p. 4) indeed reflects the original spelling of the AE manuscript. Second: the authentic Verbiest spellings appear to be very close, if not completely identical, to the spellings of de Magalhães, and more than once they differ from those in Martini's *Novus Atlas*; this is somewhat surprising, in so far as we would expect the latter work to have been the main authority on Chinese geography for the Peking Jesuits, the more so as Verbiest himself regularly and respectfully quoted from it in his correspondence (see pp. 51; 52; 53; 288; 314; 315; 402). This may due to the authority of G. de Magalhães — a close collaborator of Verbiest until 1677 — who was an expert on the Chinese language and the composer of a treatise on the matter; he indeed criticized Martini's *Atlas*, especially for its spelling of Chinese toponyms and their desinence, showing *-ng* instead of *-m*, which was the spelling 'à la façon portugaise'.⁹⁰ One case, in which the printed form in the AE edition deviates from the variant in his correspondence, is the unusual *Fokinensis*, against the common *Fokiensis* in (the published version of) his letter to Alfons VI.⁹¹

⁸⁹ See H. Josson & L. Willaert, Introduction, p. XIX.

⁹⁰ Cf. G. de Magalhães, p. 20-21 (and elsewhere), and Martini's own statement on this point in his *Atlas*, p. 17: "...multas ego per -NG scribo quae alii per -M, ut Peking, alii Pekim scripsere, quia M in qualibet syllaba aperto ore pronuntiandum est, ut a Lusitanis fieri solet, alias Sinica pronuntiatio minime exprimitur".

⁹¹ H. Josson & L. Willaert, pp. 256- 266 (260).

Personal names.

These are limited to the 3 names of the Chinese *dramatis personae* in this corpus; in addition, there is the name of the Chinese builder of the previous instruments in the Peking observatory:

Cam Hy, with the variant *Cang Hy* (AE, p. 2), the name of the Chinese *K'ang-hsi* Emperor; this corresponds well to the transcriptions in Ph. Couplet (p. 19 etc.: *Cam hi*), Pr. Intorcetta (p. 45 & passim: *Cam-hi*); F. De Rougemont (p. 314); G. Gabiani (p. 603);

Uming-huen: i.e. Chin. *Wu Ming-hsüan*;

Yangquangsenius: i.e. Chin. Yang Kuang-hsien, the famous opponent of F. Verbiest. Cf. G. Gabiani (p. 486): *Yam quam sien*; Pr. Intorcetta (p. 14): *Yanquansenio* (dat.); F. De Rougemont (p. 324): *Yam Quam Sien*. The suffix *-ius* certainly is an adaptation to the class of Roman gentilicia on *-ius*;

Quo Xeu (ms.: *Xen*) *King*: i.e. Chin. *Kuo Shou-ching*; cf. A. Schall (p. 9): *Co Xeu kim*!

Institutions, titles:

Only those mentioned in Verbiest's Imperial diplomata, or in the direct context of them, are quoted *nominatim*; all the other institutional names are substituted by Latin pendants, on which see *infra*:

Fu gin (ms.: *giu*): i.e. Chin. *fu-jen* (Hucker, no. 2066);

Tai (var. *Tay*) *cham su*: i.e. Chin. *t'ai-ch'ang-ssu* (Hucker, no. 6145);

Tum chim su chim tam: i.e. Chin. *t'ung-ch'eng (shih) ssu+ cheng-t'an* (cf. for its first part Hucker, no. 7467);

Tum fum ta fu: i.e. Chin. *t'ung-feng ta-fu* (Hucker, no. 7484).

This kind of research has to be extended to a much larger corpus of transcriptions before it can produce a list of concordances between Verbiest's transcriptions and their counterparts in Wade-Giles; some temporary concordances, however, may be presented here: *ch-* = *ch'-*; *gi-* = *je-*; *h-* = *hs-* (and *hu-* = *hsu-*); *qu-* = *ku-*; *s-* = *hs-* or *ss-*; *v-* = *w-*; *x-* = *sh-*; final *-m* = *-ng* (although some cases of *-ng* for *-ng* are attested as well). Most of Verbiest's transcriptions deviate from older ones, but are in line with those found in G. de Magalhães, Ph. Couplet, F. De Rougemont, G. Gabiani; as was concluded for the geographic names, this could be the result of the authority of de Magalhães in matters concerning the Chinese

language (and European transcriptions), for whom contemporary Portuguese was the standard of the transcription.

b) Loan translations from the Chinese:

Not only here, but also in other texts, Verbiest not infrequently presents his Chinese names in a Latin translation or paraphrase; nor is he the first Jesuit writer on China to have done so. To give just one example from our corpus: the famous Imperial hunting park south of Peking, and referred to in our texts by the simple indication 'saltus suburbanus' (cf. e.g. AE, p. 75), is called in C, p. 362 "filius maris", a correct translation of its official Chinese name (*Nan*) *Hai-tze*; this is reminiscent of the 'Filius maris' in M. Martini (*Atlas*, p. 13), a (wrong) translation of the Chinese river name Yangtze, but nevertheless adopted by later writers (cf. e.g. G. de Magalhães, p. 8).⁹² Perhaps we must recognize in these translations — which in my impression are more numerous in Verbiest than in the works of his fellow-fathers — a 'gloss' for European readers not acquainted with the Chinese toponyms.

Nominal loan translations:

anemo-dicticum: this Latin neologism is a possible transposition of its Chinese counterpart *hsiang-feng-ch'u*: "wind-direction indicator",⁹³

curia, as synonym of 'regia', indicates the Imperial Court and, by extension, the Manchu City of Peking = *Pei-ching*. Its use seems to have been inspired by the 2nd part of the Chinese toponym, i.e. *ching* = court: cf. especially G. de Magalhães, p. 22: "...*car kim [in Pe kim] signifie Cour*". The former Mongol name of Peking in Marco Polo, well known to the Jesuits, was *Cambalu*, translated by them as "Regis sedem" as well (G. de Magalhães, quoted by I. Pih);⁹⁴

specula astr-optica: this term, replacing the former *specula mathematica* (G. Gabiani; A. Schall; F. De Rougemont), seems to translate Chin. *kuan-hsing-tai*, with the characters 'look/watch', 'star' and 'platform / tower', respectively; cf. also the contemporary gloss of the

⁹² Martini, *Atlas*, p. 13: "Primum locum haud immerito sibi vindicat flumen, quod Yangçu Kiang, vel per antonomasiam Kiang Sinae vocant, ac si *maris filium* diceret". The confusion is as old as the beginning of the 17th century, and was originally committed by N. Trigault (1612), as is demonstrated by P. M. d'Elia., vol. II (Roma, 1949), p. 17 n. 3.

⁹³ Ho Peng Yoke, "The Astronomical Bureau in Ming China", *Journal of Asian History*, III/2 (1969), p. 147.

⁹⁴ I. Pih, *Le Père Gabriel de Magalhães. Un jésuite portugais en Chine au XVIIIème siècle* (Paris, 1979), p. 364.

term *Torre das observações* in C, p. 143, n. 13: “*Elle s’appelle Koan sing tai, c’est-à-dire: tour pour voir et descouvrir les estoiles*”.

Onomastics:

Agri Regii vel (*Agri*) *Imperiales* (M, fig.97; AE, p. 69; 70; 71; 72; 80; 81): translation of the Chinese toponym (or: generic indication?) *kuan-chuang*;

Decem mille fontes (M, fig.97; AE, p. 69; 80): direct translation of Chin. *Wan-ch’üan* (“*The ten thousand wells*”), mentioned in the contemporary petitions;

Montes Occidentales (M, fig. 105; AE, p. 63; 65; 72): direct translation of the Chin. oronym *Hsi-shan*, the name of a mountain group west of Peking; cf. *Si Xan* in C, p. 410.⁹⁵

More hypothetic are the following two cases, for which I refer to the commentary in my edition of the AE:

*flumen *noti nominis...* (AE, p. 69), to be emended, in my view, into °*flumen novi nominis*, i.e. *flumen Novi nominis*, with a hidden river name °*Novus* (*fluvi*us, v.s.); the strongest argument for this emendation is, that a “New River” is indeed mentioned in the related petitions;⁹⁶

De Wolf (AE, p. 37): as shown in my AE edition, p. 239-240, the substitution of *De Wolf* for Van der Straete (the real name of Verbiest’s grandmother) is due to a wrong translation of her Chinese honorary name Lang as “... wolf”, after confusing 2 similar characters.

c) Substitution of Latin expressions to Chinese institutions, etc.:

It is a classic and well-established custom, when speaking of foreign countries, to replace the foreign names of institutions and realia of all kinds by terms etc. more familiar to the readers. In a narrative context, this could be inspired by a certain ‘esthetic’ feeling (cf. the words of J. Dehergne, *supra*), but surely also by a consideration of ‘economics’, for it renders superfluous the introduction of translations or explicit comparisons; on the other hand, it creates a new ‘sense’ for the substituting term. Such substitutions are, in the case of Verbiest’s writings on China, very numerous,⁹⁷ often repeating an older model in the Jesuit tradition of Latin compositions on China, but more than once creating an original

⁹⁵ H. Josson & L. Willaert, p. 410 again have the wrong transcription *Si Chan*!

⁹⁶ See N. Golvers, p. 288, n. 6.

⁹⁷ See a first list in my edition, p. 45.

substitution as well. Most of these terms are commented upon in my AE edition (see such terms as *aediles*, *classis*, *comitia*, *diploma*, *eunuchi*, *factio*, *magnates*, *monasterium*, *oeconomi*, *praefectus*, *prorrex*, *regulus*, *secta*...). I will dwell here on just one case, viz. the frequently used term *tribunal*: this term from the bureaucratic sphere, in general use at least since M. Ricci-Trigault at the beginning of the 17th century, stands for Chin. *pu* (“ministry”: Hucker, no. 4764), *chien* (“Directorate”: Hucker, no. 786), and *ssu* (“office, bureau”: Hucker, no. 5533), sometimes — as in AE, p. 21, l. 18; p. 48, l. 26 — even for the buildings belonging to them. As yet, it is not clear to me how this classic term — with its essential judicial connotation — acquired this role in a Chinese context. Some criticisms were formulated in the 1670s by A. Grelon, S.J., exactly on account of that judicial character:⁹⁸ “...nisi per abusioem vocatur Tribunal...”; nevertheless, its success remained unbroken even in the 18th-century writings of the French Mission!

1.2.2. Neologisms of sense.

I list here several Latin words and terms which in Verbiest’s texts (or his sources) display a new sense, i.e. a meaning not yet incorporated in the aforementioned major dictionaries. Here again, by far most of these instances concern technical terms, or current words applied in a new technical context; although I did not make a systematic search into the origin of these new applications, there are enough indications to assume that most were already common property, either in Latin or in the national languages, before Verbiest employed them.

anima: the classical Latin word, occasionally meaning “vital spot” (Quint., *Declam.* 1, 10), developed, on the basis of this latter sense, a new, technical sense of “bore of a gun”; the oldest references at my disposal are from 1611 in French (Trésor, 2, 724-725);

annuere: the classical Latin verb meaning “to consent, to agree” in the technical context of mathematical writings has developed the new sense of “to converge” after the model of its Greek synonym συν-(v)εἶναι, the first meaning of which is “to converge, to incline to a point”. This interesting example of a loan translation is at least as old as Copernicus who, according to PL, s. v., uses *annuere* with the sense of “accedere, appropinquare” (de motu planetarum). It is also found in the Latin translation of Proclus, in *Eucl.* 176, 7 ff.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Autograph in Archivio Romano S. I., JS 122, f° 339r. (1669); quoted in ch. 8, n. 4 of my edition.

⁹⁹ I owe this information to A. Segonds (Paris, Belles Lettres), to whom I am grateful.

arenarium: the semantic evolution from the classical sense 'sand-pit' into 'sand-glass', in the 17th century, is a simple matter of specialisation;

armatura: this classical (and medieval) term originally had a purely military application; in fig. 66 of M, it appears as an as yet unparalleled indication for a tackle block: "...et hinc praesertim quaero quot orbiculi inferioris armaturae respectu superioris esse debeant, et cui armaturae funis <...> annectendum sit"; the transposition may have been realized through the classical and medieval maritime applications (L², s.v.: "equipment, gear [naut.]"). Further technological applications in French are noted in FEW I, 141 from as early as the 15th-16th century;

armilla: this ancient, general term for "ring" developed a secondary, technical meaning of "armillary sphere", indicating: (a) the *armilla zodiaco-aequinotialis* (see AE, p. 43) or by abbreviation *armilla zodiacalis* (M, fig. 2 = AE, p. 49), i.e. the zodiacal or ecliptic armillary; (b) the *armilla zodiaco-aequatoria* (AE, p. 44) or by abbreviation *armilla aequatoria* (M, fig. 3 = AE, p. 50), i.e. the equatorial armillary. This semantic shift from "ring" to "instrument provided with (celestial) rings" is of the type 'pars pro toto';

character: this term, used in classical Latin in the sense of "mark; style", developed in Middle Latin the specialized sense of 'letter mark, letter form, letter'; it is already found in M. Martini (*Atlas*, p. 17) to indicate the Chinese characters;

curia: the classical sense of "assembly of the senators" quite naturally assumed, in medieval Latin, the sense of "Imperial or Papal Court" (FEW, II, 1564); this sense is transposed by Verbiest (and his Jesuit predecessors) to the Chinese Imperial Court in Peking, as a synonym of the classical *regia*. The transposition to Peking could have been inspired by an etymological motif, as (*Pei-)*Ching means: "(Northern) Court"; see also *supra*;

curriculus: in AE, p. 87, this apparently refers to a four-wheeled chariot carrying burning coals and an aeolopyle put in them: "...curriculum bipedalis longitudinis [...] conficiendum curavi, [...] in cujus medio vasculum vivis carbonibus plenum et vasculo aeolopilam imposui". This application is in all probability a continuation of one of the medieval senses listed in DC: "chariot, carrying fire for heating", in its turn a specialization of the classical diminutive *curri-culus*: "little wagon". Another specialization of the latter is represented in the chapter on Statics (AE, p. 79) and its previous version in M, sub fig. 77 ("*curriculus glossocomi*"; "*glossocomum in curriculo*..."); in these passages a moveable support with a glossocome-like engine (cf. *infra*) is apparently meant;

cursor: in classical texts synonymous with *tabellarius*, it is used by Verbiest in exactly the same sense as the present English "cursor": cf.

M, fig. 97 = AE, p. 71: “*inserui tabellam palmarem, instar cursoris sursum ac deorsum mobilem*”; the English term is first attested in 1594 (NED, s.v.: “a part of a mathematical, astronomical or surveying instrument, which slides backwards and forwards”), and its French counterpart already in 1562: “*petite pièce mobile glissant dans la coulisse d’une règle, d’un compas...*” (Trésor, 6, 636). In Latin too, then, this semantic neologism may be older than this Verbiest passage;

erigere: used twice by Verbiest with a term indicating a composition or a drawing as its direct object (AE, p. 29: *figuram caelestem*; p. 92: *epitaphium*); this is an extension of the classical use: “to erect” → “to draw up”;

glossocomum: in classical Greek texts the term γλωσσοκομῆιον, by abbreviation γλωσσόκομον, indicated a casket to keep the tongues of musical instruments, or anything else (compounded of γλῶσσα and κομῆϊν); technological applications are already found in Heron (*Pneumatica*; *Automata*) — Pappus, l. VIII.¹⁰⁰ Only from the 17th century on have I found testimonia for the sense: “chest containing an apparatus to lift up heavy weights”, or simply “engine for lifting”, etc.; the term is used in this application by S. De Caus,¹⁰¹ M. Bettini,¹⁰² M. Mersenne,¹⁰³ P. Casati.¹⁰⁴ See also the dictionaries of Furetiere and Aquilano. In Zedler, *Universallexicon*, s.v., it is a synonym of Fr. *cric*, *pancratium*, *Fuhrmannswinde*. The semantic transition from “chest” to “engine, put inside a chest” is a transition of the type ‘pars pro toto’, and seems to have been provoked by the Latin translation of Pappus by Commandinus;

horizon: as an abbreviation for *horizon azimuthalis* (AE, p. 50), it is the name of one of Verbiest’s Tychonian instruments, already described by T. Brahe. It concerns a *horizon cum triangulo azimuthali*, with the *circulus horizontalis* as one of the main parts (AE, *ibid.*): the semantic development may be summarized, then, as follows: horizon > artificial horizon (Sacrobosco) > horizon of a measuring instrument > instrument provided with a horizon. Moreover, a *horizon* is also mentioned as part of the stellar globe (AE, p. 52);¹⁰⁵

musica: “(musical) band”. Cf. AE, p. 26: “...*quos [...] praecedit Regia instrumentorum multorum musica, tympanis et tubis augustum quid sonantibus*”. This sense is found neither in classical nor in

¹⁰⁰ See N. Golvers, p. 301, n. 3.

¹⁰¹ S. De Caus, *Les raisons des forces mouvantes* (Frankfurt, 1615), l. 1, Theor. XVI, fig. 8.

¹⁰² M. Bettini, *Apiaria universae philosophiae mathematicae* (Bologna, 1642), t. 1, ap. IV, progymn. 2, prop. 4.

¹⁰³ M. Mersenne, *Tractatus mechanicus* (Paris, 1644), pp. 39- 40.

¹⁰⁴ P. Casati, *Terra machinis mota* (Rome, 1655), p. 1; 2; 3.

¹⁰⁵ As part of a torquetum, already mentioned in PL (Franco, 1284).

medieval Latin; the new development in Neo-Latin may chronologically connect it with the first appearances of this sense in French in 1553 (Trésor, 11, 1258) and almost simultaneously in English in 1568 (NED, VI, 783); the exact primacy cannot as yet be established;

palaestra: “study book”, found in AE, Praef. [p.4]: “...*apertam quandam totius Astronomiae palaestram ante oculos ponere*...”. The semantic shift: wrestling school > physical training > intellectual training > study¹⁰⁶ > study book¹⁰⁷ parallels other common 17th century metaphors, such as in the case of *gymnasma*, *progymnasma*;¹⁰⁸

perspectiva: The sense “a painting in perspective” is found once in AE, p. 97: “...*Alia etiam ejusmodi plura, uti clepsydras illas, sive arenaria [...], perspectivas, tubos opticos, pannos, telas, horologia rotatilia & mentito nomine Europaeo tamquam pretiosiora passim carius vendunt*”. This specialised sense is represented neither in the Late Latin *perspectiva*, nor in its Medio-Latin and Italian cognates, all exclusively indicating by this term the very *ars* of painting in prospect; on the contrary, we find the reduced sense in French since 1551 (Trésor, 13, 149), in Dutch since 1604 (Van Mander’s *Schilder-boeck*), in English since 1644 (NED, s.v.);

pegma: the name of the curtained palanquin or pavilion, in which the Emperor’s calendars (decrees etc.) were transported, and in which they were venerated as the emanation of the Emperor himself. This use seems to have been inspired by the ecclesiastical Latin *pegma*: “*machina ligneae, in qua statuæ collocabantur*” (DC).¹⁰⁹

progressio: indicating, in mathematics, the arithmetic and geometric series; in classical times, *progressio* was used only as a term of rhetoric, and so far I do not see when the application to mathematical science could have been made.

quadrans: one of its original meanings, viz.: “1/4 of a circle” was transposed, by specialization, to an astronomical measuring instrument, representing a quarter of 360°.

radius: the basic element of a Jacob’s staff, hence called *radius astronomicus*, at least since G. Frisius, *De radio astronomico et geometrico* (Antwerp, 1545); it apparently represents a new specialization of Latin

¹⁰⁶ Cf. T. Brahe, *Astronomiae instauratae mechanica* (Wandesburgi, 1892), p. C2: “...norunt ij, qui in Astronomicâ Palaestrâ versati sunt”.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. titles such as *Palaestra eloquentiae ligatae* (1654) by J. Masenius, S.J..

¹⁰⁸ On *gymnasma*, *progymnasma* as ‘exercitium’, first in the physical sense, and then transposed to the level of rhetoric (and generally intellectual) training: see R. Pitkäranta, p. 119, n. 264.

¹⁰⁹ Another specialization is the sense of “scaffold”, mentioned in BT, 1687.

radius in the sense of an astronomical, etc. rod for drawing and measuring figures.

sextans: this instrument, also described by T. Brahe, is named after the *one-sixth* of 360° it spans, in analogy with *quadrans* (cf. s.v.);

thaumaturgus: quoted in its usual hagiographic context in C, p. 171 (“...*Divus Gregorius Thaumaturgus*...”), it is also transposed to more profane applications, viz. “inventor of miraculous mechanics”, and even, through personification, to engines with miraculous effects, such as one peculiar type of *tubus* (AE, p. 77: “*tubus nocturnus...*, *quem Thaumaturgum jure appellare possumus*”);

tormentum: from “an instrument to shoot missiles by applying the principle of tightening ropes” (classical; medieval), it was transposed, by broadening of sense, to a new type of instruments “built for the same purpose, relying on the force of gun powder”;

umbratio: metaphorically transposed to a newly developed, contemporary technique of drawing;

venari: classical Latin ‘to hunt, to chase’, medieval Latin ‘*piscari*’ (DC) > Neo-Latin “to investigate”; see already G. Schottus;¹¹⁰

vitis: “screw”, metaphorically transposed from its classical sense “vine” to “screw”; its first attestation, according to Du Cange (s.v. *vis*!), is already found in medieval Latin; the form *vitibus* in his quotation is not to be corrected to *vicibus*, as the author suggests, nor the nom. to *vis*.

1.2.3. Some particular cases.

1.2.3.1. Some involuntary neologisms.

Some neologisms apparently stem from contemporary (but now forgotten) *lectiones* in the ms. tradition of classical authors which, from the viewpoint of the 17th-century writer, were not neologisms at all. The most striking example concerns the geodesic term *collimare* (M; AE, p. 71), the result of the misreading of the compound *col-liniare* in the only five classical testimonia. It was mainly propagated by Kepler’s *Ad Vitellionem Paralipomena* (Francofurti, 1604), p. 211, and was thereafter generally accepted as part of the astronomical terminology in the 17th century;¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ G. Schottus, p. 870.

¹¹¹ From here it found its way even into the ‘national’ languages, such as Italian (*collimare* since P. Segneri [°1624-†1694]: cf. DEL, s.v.), English (NED: since 1623: *collimate*: “to levell or winke with one eye”); French (*collimation* since 1646: cf. Trésor, 5, 1046).

both forms are used mutually interchangeably by, for instance, T. Brahe in his *Astronomiae Instauratae Mechanica* (Wandesburgi, 1592). In all recent editions, however, it has been replaced by the common form *con(col)-lineare*: “to bring something in one line with...”.

Some more of Verbiest’s ‘neologisms’ of this type already date from the Middle Ages. This is the case with his compound *conspicilium* (AE, p. 97) which, according to Forcellini (s.v.), was in Plautus, *Cist.*, 91 (as well as in the fragments), and meant “glasses”; this *lectio* since has been replaced by *conspicillus* (-m), so that the only real lexical support for this term is now lost and it becomes a true ‘neo-logism’.¹¹² Finally, the medieval reading *praeludium* in Cic., *Phil.* 14. III.8, and source of the ‘Neo-Latin’ *praeludium*, has been replaced now by *propudium*.

1.3. Concluding remarks: stratigraphy of the neologisms.

The foregoing research has demonstrated that Verbiest’s vocabulary in these texts on astronomy and 14 other ‘mathematical’ sciences bears a firm medieval and Neo-Latin stamp: the neologisms in this rather small corpus number 186. This might seem a small basis for ‘statistic’ considerations, but I nevertheless believe that some valuable conclusions are possible. To draw a chronological distinction between medieval and Neo-Latin neologisms, I propose the year 1400, the formations first appearing between 600¹¹³ and 1400 being regarded as ‘medieval’, and all later innovations as Neo-Latin neologisms.

1.3.1. The medieval neologisms.

Before any reliable conclusion on the medieval component in Verbiest’s vocabulary becomes possible, four important aspects must be emphasized concerning the dictionaries listed at the beginning of this study (1.0) and the material they present.

¹¹² Cf. also the item *+conspicilla(-lia)* in R. Hoven, p. 82.

¹¹³ Verbiest’s Latin also contains a series of Late Latin terms, such as *appendo* (“to suspend”), *borealis*, *constellatio*, *cosmographia*, *curvitas*, *deforis*, *embolismalis* (cf. n. 12), *flammivomus*, *idioma*, *immobiliter*, *magneticus*, *meridianus*, *mil(l)iare*, *speculariter*, *superligare*, *transmigratio*, etc.

- 1° Most of them are still in progress, so that for several letters only a very partial comparison can be made;
- 2° The same dictionaries of medieval Latin occasionally cite post-medieval and even modern items and testimonia, not always clearly distinguished or distinguishable from Neo-Latin references. Consequently, as the asterisk (*) in the above-mentioned list indicated only the presence of the quoted term in one or more of these medieval sources, it does not imply that the term is also of medieval extraction! Indeed, after a detailed check, only 54 words and terms could with certainty be retraced to a medieval origin (See the list in *appendice*).
- 3° On the other hand, the major medieval lexica (DC and N) present only a partial selection of the linguistic material — a commonly known fact, and abundantly confirmed during the present study (cf. *infra*). Therefore, I have extended the comparison to the material collected in 'minor', mostly regional dictionaries of medieval Latin, such as Arnaldi, Bartal, Blaise, Blatt, Fuchs & Weijers, Latham, the *Mitellateinisches Wörterbuch*, Plezia; especially the material published in L (L²: L³) and PL has proved to be of particular value in complementing DC (N). But even in these dictionaries, the spectrum is very unequal and incomplete, and it is precisely the specific language of the writings under scrutiny in our corpus, i.e. the astronomical — mathematical — technological terminology, which is more deficiently represented than any other.
- 4° Finally, other (etymological) dictionaries and some monographs occasionally refer to the medieval origin of certain words: thus such important terms as *meteora*, -orum: "atmospheric circumstances",¹¹⁴ *practicus*, -a, -um: "practical",¹¹⁵ *realis*, -is, -e: "related to reality"¹¹⁶ appear to be of medieval extraction, although they are not listed as such in DC or in N.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ Cf. M, f.1: "...aliaque caeli phaenomena aut meteora....", and AE, p. 48. On its medieval appearance, see FEW VI, 2/3, p. 59.

¹¹⁵ Cf. FEW IX, 276: since ± 500.

¹¹⁶ Originating from the Late Latin and medieval didactic terminology, according to FEW X, p. 134.

¹¹⁷ In my list I have also marked these terms with an asterisk *.

All this means that, for our purpose, of the 186 appellative neologisms listed above, at least 54, i.e. 29% or less than one-third of Verbiest's neologisms, are of medieval origin. Because of the incomplete character of the available evidence, and for the limited spectrum represented by our instruments of medieval Latin, this proportion might rather be an underestimate. This calls to mind two other estimates of a more general import: that made by J. IJsewijn who, on the basis of the material published in *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, conjectured that "...ungefähr drei Viertel der nicht in antiken Quellen nachweisbaren und von Humanisten benutzten Wörter sich schon in mittelalterlichen Texten vorfinden"¹¹⁸ On the other hand, of the 8.550 'notices' (both formal and semantic neologisms) collected by R. Hoven in his aforementioned *Lexique de la prose de la renaissance*, only 1600 items, i.e. only one-fifth of the material, is listed with *, i.e. as "...déjà latin médiéval". It is as yet not clear how the difference between these three figures has to be explained, but see *infra*.

Although the application of the words cannot always be clearly specified, it seems reasonable to assume that at least 41 of these 54 neologisms of medieval origin (viz. ca 76%) are technical terms. They mainly concern: (a) astronomy and astronomical instrument building (*alidata*; *armilla*; *armillaris*; *astrolabium*; *circumvolutio*; *eclipsare*; *ecliptica*; *embolismalis*; *fixa*; *incidentia*; *nadir*; *planisphaerium*; *polaris*; *quadrans*; *uranicus*) — this is the largest group; (b) meteorology (*halo*; *meteora*; *meteoricus*; *meteorologicus*); (c) the names of other 'mathematical' sciences (*optica*); (d) other instruments, their parts (*claviculus*; *concavum*; *curriculum*; *vitis*), their characteristics (*chalybeus*; *polygonus*; *practicus*; *pyramidalis*; *transversalis*), etc. It thus appears that the persistence of medieval Latin was particularly strong in the field of 'science and technology', which seems a reasonable conclusion. Conversely, the far lower degree of survival of what can be called the 'general' vocabulary could be the result of a certain stylistic 'purification', which of course exerted less influence on the established terminology of the sciences. For that matter, this predominantly technical character of Verbiest's medieval neologisms may partly also explain why R. Hoven

¹¹⁸ J. IJsewijn, "Mittelalterliches Latein und Humanistenlatein", in *Die Rezeption der Antike. Zum Problem der Kontinuität zwischen Mittelalter und Renaissance*, edited by A. Buck, Wolfenbütteler Abhandlungen zur Renaissanceforschung, Band 1 (Hamburg, 1981), p. 73.

arrived at a lower proportion of medieval elements in the Neo-Latin vocabulary than I have, viz. $1/5$ versus $\pm 1/3$ respectively: scientific texts played only a secondary role in his corpus, contrary to the corpus under scrutiny in this study. All in all, the two figures do not appear irreconcilable, whereas the proportion cited by IJsewijn (and based on the annual lists of neologisms in *Humanistica Lovaniensia*) remains unexplainably high.

As to the typology of Verbiest's medieval neologisms, various types are represented: (1) Medieval derivations on classical roots (e.g.: *claviculus*; *transvers-alis*; *circum-volutio*...). (2) Classical words with a secondary semantic shift (e.g. *armilla*). (3) A not unimportant group of borrowings, first (3a) those of Greek origin: they represent 17 of 54 items, viz. 31% of the medieval neologisms, almost all in the technical or scientific sphere, and more or less adapted to Latin morphology. The majority cannot be traced further back than the 12th or 13th century, and therefore it is likely that they were created within the framework of the Latin translations of Greek scientific works, such as the 'Corpus Aristotelicum', Galenus, Ptolemaeus, Euclid, etc., which were all made in the course of those two centuries. It is remarkable, then, that several of these 12th and 13th-century 'Graeco-Latina' appear precisely in L (L²: L³) — which perhaps reflects the important role of the English universities, especially Oxford, in these translations, albeit from Arabic? In his Teubner edition of Hero, vol. II, pp. xxxviii-xliii W. Schmidt lists 21 cases of Greek technical terms borrowed by the Arabian translations on mechanics. It is in this milieu, then, that the origin lies of such neologisms as *astrolabium* (L: 1110), *ecliptica* (L³: early 12th cent.), *halo* (L: Bacon, †1294), *meteora* (BL: Alfr. Anglicus), *met[h]eoricus* (L²: id.), *practicus* (L: ca. 1177), *praxis* (L: ca. 1250), *theorice* (L: 1275). Other Greek terms were borrowed during the translation of the same texts directly from the Greek originals in Sicily: this is in all probability the case for *optica*, attributed to Eugenius or Henricus Aristippus (NED).¹¹⁹ All in all, only two Greek borrowings among Verbiest's medieval neologisms are attested earlier (*polygonus*; *uranicus*), both of 'English' origin as well. Apart from this 'English' connection, Vitelo (13th cent.) also seems to have been influential in successfully transposing Greek scientific terms

¹¹⁹ See on this point E. Gilson, pp. 550–551 and 568–570; E. Grant, pp. 16–19 and W. Berschin, *Griechisch-Lateinisches Mittelalter* (München, 1980), pp. 271–274.

into Latin: see, apart from several purely Latin terms, the family of *eclipsis*, and *halo*. Besides from the Greek borrowings, (3b) at least one cultural term was recognizably borrowed from Italian, viz. *cornix*. Finally, (3c) some Arabic loan words are represented, viz. *alidada*, *azimuth*, and *nadir*; all three belong to the field of astronomical terminology, and were introduced at the latest in the early 13th century through Sacrobosco's *De Spera* (*nadir*, *azimuth*)¹²⁰ or slightly later (*alilada*: 1284). Unlike *nadir*, which remained indeclinable, the two others received proper flexion.

As by far most of these medieval Latin neologisms reappear in several 'national' medieval dictionaries (see my list in 1.0), they were widespread or even in common use throughout Europe, being part of the 'intellectual' vocabulary, specialized or not. As such, they belonged to the linguistic heritage to which Verbiest was surely introduced during his 'philosophical' studies in Leuven (Corpus Aristotelicum; Sacrobosco), either through publications he read, or the courses he attended.

1.3.2. The post-medieval neologisms.

With all due reservations (cf. *supra*), the [186 - 54 =] 132 non-medieval neologisms must represent post-medieval creations from the 15th–17th centuries, either then in current use or created by Verbiest *ad hoc*. Of these, only six are listed by R. Hoven in his aforementioned *Lexique de la prose latine de la renaissance* (8.550 'notices'!), viz. the words *cylindricus*, *character*, *chorographicus*, *geodesia*, *semidigitus* and *semiquadrans*, to which *catoptice* and *conspicilium* may probably be added. The same picture appears when we check other modern repertoria of Neo-Latin terminology or linguistic studies in the field of 17th-century Latin terminology, such as the *Lexicon auxiliare* by Chr. Helfer (Saarbrücken, 1991³), the aforementioned publications of the 'group' around E. Tengström (University of Göteborg), and those by R. Pitkäranta (cf. n. 28): consequently, these are our additions to a future Neo-Latin dictionary.

¹²⁰ A direct source of Verbiest's, as this author was still part of the philosophical curriculum at Leuven University in his day! On the success of Sacrobosco's *De Spera*, even in 17th-century university teaching: see L. Thorndike, pp. 41–42.

These post-medieval neologisms mainly represent 'new terms for new realities' ("Wörter und Sachen"). First, these 'new realities' concern the Far East and China, the discovery of which basically occurred from the 16th century. As a result, a whole set of terms was needed to indicate various aspects of this 'new' world and the novelties it produced. When Verbiest wrote his Latin works on China (from the early 1660s), there existed an already well-established Latin tradition on China, of which an important part was of specifically Jesuit signature, a heritage to which he evidently adhered for the terminology concerned. In this respect, the 16th-17th-century neologisms *bonzius*, *colaus*, *mandarinus* (-*inicus*) must be noted, as well as *pataca*, a numismatic term connected with the Oriental expansion of Portugal.

In the same sense, all the terms indicating new scientific or technological disciplines, their discoveries, instruments, applications, ... are Neo-Latin neologisms; in this field, we have: (2a) appellations for new, or revitalised, branches of scientific research and technology, such as *ballistica*; *catopt<r>ica*; *geod(a)esia*; *horolotechnia*; *hydragogica* (and -*icus*); *hydraulica* (and -*icus*); *hydrostatica*; *pneumatica*; *spartostatica*; *trigonometria* (and -*icus*); *uranologia*; (2b) names of instruments, such as *aeolopila*; *anemodicticum*; *armatura*; *chorometricum*; *chronodicticum*; *cochlea*; *conspicilium*; *glossocomum*; *horizon*; *incubus*; *pantocrator*; *pantometrum*; *pendulum*; *pinnacidium*; *radius* (*astronomicus*); *regula*; *sextans*; *thermoscopium*; †*xirometricum*; (2c) terms indicating parts of the same instruments, their material, the shape and their working: *anima*; *antisacoma*; *azimuthalis*; *bicrus*; *chorographicus* (and -*e*); *chorometricus*; *chronodicticus*; *contrapondium*; *cursor* (and *cursorius*); *cylindricus*; *cylindraceus*; *diaphragma*; *dioptralis*; *extuberantia*; *filaris*; *frisa*; *horologus*; *hypomochlium*; *libellatio*; *ligno-metallicus*; *octangularis*; *octolateris*; *organotheca*; *pedestale*; *peritrochium*; *pinnacidium*; *polyedrum* (-*s*); *semicylindrum*; *turbinatim*; (2d) specific techniques: *circumarmare*; *hydragogus*; *libellatio*; *parastaticus*; *perspectiva*; *thaumaturgus*; *trusio*; *umbratio*; (2e) physical laws: *anacampticus*; *anaclasticus*; *magnetice*; *pyrius*; (2f) things relating to astronomy, such as *aequatorius*, *anemoscopus*, *astropticus*, *circumpolaris*, *embolismicus*, *lucida*, *observatorius*, *parallaxis*, *semisignum*, *zodiacalis*; (2g) concerning mathematics: *annuens*, *gradialis* †*parascheuma*; *semidigitus*; *semiquadrans*; (3) the names of other 'realia' that originated in the same period, such as *gazetta*; *missionarius*; (4) finally, common terms and varia: *acclive*; *albo-niger* and

-ruber; arcto-zephyrus; arenarium; astrologaster; caritas; draconicus; erigere; explicatiuncula; gradialis; musica; noctu-diurnus; palaestra; subsultus; superaffigere; titularis; venari.

As for the medieval neologisms, the sources of this 'new' vocabulary were (1°) to be found first in Latin, both classical and medieval, from which neologisms were created either by derivation (e.g. *fil-aris; libellatio; in-cubus*, etc.) or by compounding (e.g. *bi-crus, prae-lud-ium*) — always according to the rules and models of classical morphology — or by semantic shift (e.g. *cursor; musica*). In addition, (2°) many terms were borrowed, mainly from ancient Greek, the knowledge of which became widespread and much improved since the 15th–16th century. Moreover, a series of newly discovered or newly edited sources, especially in the areas of scientific and technological research, introduced a series of new terms, which may have been adapted to Latin in contemporary Latin translations of such Greek authors as Hero–Pappus, Euclid, Galenus, Apollon of Perge, Proclus, in which Commandinus had played an important role. Furthermore, thanks to the improved knowledge of Greek, scientists also now had at their disposal an inexhaustible quarry of new linguistic material, both words and stems, with which to build, occasionally in combination with Latin elements, new, partly 'hybrid' terms, which have since remained typical of the 'learned' language. In our material 57 Neo-Latin terms are purely 'Greek' borrowings or formations (type: *sparto-statica; dia-phragma*) and 7 are of hybrid origin (type: *astrologaster; ballist-ica*). Apart from the latter category, the proportion of Greek terms has now significantly increased from 31% in the medieval neologisms (cf. *supra*) to 57 or — with the inclusion of the hybrids — 64 out of 132 items, i.e. 43,1% (or even 49%). Among these Neo-Latin 'graecisms', some, which were already known in Greek, seem nevertheless to represent new 'constructions' rather than real borrowings, for semantic or other reasons explained *ad hoc*: this may be the case for *anacampticus; antisacoma; horologus*. On the other hand, such terms as, *hydragogus* and *hydragogicus*, although attested in medieval Latin, were probably borrowed a second time in the 16th or 17th century for similar semantic reasons.¹²¹ (3°) Another not unimportant source of borrowings were the national vernaculars, for obvious reasons first and

¹²¹ Cf. *supra*, n. 13.

foremost Portuguese (*pataca*), which also was the intermediary for the reception of some terms from the Oriental languages (see *colaus*; *bonzius*; *mandarinus*). Besides, some 'cultural' terms appear to be latinizations of originally Italian terms (*bombarda*; *frisa*; *pedestal*; *porcellana*). Finally, direct Neo-Latin borrowings from Oriental languages, at least in the corpus of the present study, are limited to the field of onomastics (toponyms, anthroponyms), where the 'barbarian' Chinese names were either morphologically latinized (type: *Pekinum*; *Yang-quangsenius*) or simply incorporated in the text as 'foreign elements' (type: *tum fum ta fu*, etc.); loan translations (type: *Montes Occidentales*) and a series of substitutions (type: *Tribunal*, for Chinese *pu*, *chien* or *ssu*) can be seen as a 'gloss' for the western reader.

Even a superficial comparison with contemporary writings, both in the orbit of 'science and technology' and in the tradition of scientific writing on China, shows that Verbiest's neologisms were for the most part not original creations, but inherited from his sources and the contemporary context. In this respect, I compared his vocabulary with T. Brahe's *Astronomiae Instauratae Mechanica* (Wandesburgi, 1592), the source book of Verbiest's instruments as well as his cosmological model. Apart from several medieval neologisms, which appear both in Brahe and in Verbiest, and which were part of the technical terminology of astronomy since the Middle Ages (e.g. *astrolabium*; *bifurcatus*; *chalybeus*; *collimare*; *ecliptica*; *fixa*; *incidentia*; *nadir*; *polaris*; *portatilis*; *praxis*; *quadrans*; *semidiameter*; *transversalis*; cf. also an expression such as *area [instrumenti]*), 12 common Neo-Latin terms were found, all concerning astronomy, its instruments, their construction and their manipulation, viz. *aequatorius*, *azimuthalis*, *cochlea*, *horizon*, *lucida*, *parallaxis*, *pedestal*, *pinnacidium*, *radius astronomicus*, *regula*, *sextans*, *zodiacalis*. On the other hand, some of Verbiest's technical neologisms like *alidada*, *trigonometria*, *venari*, *vitis* are not, or not yet, in Brahe, who has *regula*, *scientia triangulorum*, *rimari* (*capere*, *dimetiri*) and *cochlea*, respectively.

Clues for further and more systematic comparison are to be found in the 'frame of reference' quoted in this very corpus. Explicitly mentioned are only the names of A. Kircher, with his *China Illustrata* (M, Praef.; fig. 66; AE, p. 80) and his *Magia Parastatica*, part of the celebrated *Ars Magna Lucis et Umbrae* (M, fig. 102; AE, p. 77); M. Bettini and his

Aerarium in the edition with Eschinardi's supplement on the 'hydrargyrologium'; the *Historica Relatio* by A. Schall (AE, praefatio; edition Vienna, 1665); Pr. Intorcetta's *Compendiosa Narratio* (ibid.); M. Martini's *Novus Atlas Sinensis* (M, Praef.; C; passim); Chr. Scheiner (AE, p. 79); Clavius' Euclid translation (M, fig. 43; AE, p. 55). Other sources can be identified only in an indirect way, i.e. through analysis ("Quellenforschung") of the contents of these Latin writings and of their Chinese counterparts, and here the possibilities are nearly endless: an incomplete list will contain the names of Kepler, G.B. Riccioli, G. Schottus, M. Mersenne, S. Stevin, Besson, De Caus, P. Casati, etc. It is clear that such an enterprise can only be undertaken as part of a more comprehensive project which, perhaps, could start from contributions on a smaller scale such as those produced at Göteborg University, and such as the present modest study of the Verbiest corpus.

In line with this, other links can be anticipated between Verbiest's terminological neologisms and contemporary lexica or scientific encyclopaedias, in Latin or in the national vernaculars, which may be expected to have combed more or less thoroughly through the corpus that constituted Verbiest's 'scientific background'. For the final decades of the 17th century the most important of these lexical instruments are those by R. Goclenius,¹²² J. Micraelius (see supra, n. 27), H. Vitalis,¹²³ J. Gezelius,¹²⁴ Chr. Wolff,¹²⁵ and J.H. Zedler.¹²⁶ However, here too the initial results are disappointing and the correspondences limited: the lexicon of Micraelius, for instance, shares with Verbiest's neologisms only a variant like *aeolopila*, a derivation on *-metricum* (*ageo-metricum*, comparable to Verbiest's *choro-metricum* and *†xiro-metricum*), and a term such as *polyhedrum*. The main reason for this may be that these lexica were more interested in concepts than in concrete terms.

¹²² R. Goclenius, *Lexicon Philosophicum, quo tamquam clave philosophiae fores aperiuntur* (Francofurti, 1613).

¹²³ H. Vitalis, *Lexicon mathematicum astronomicum geometricum* (Paris, 1668).

¹²⁴ J. Gezelius, *Encyclopaedia Synoptica* (Aboae, 1672).

¹²⁵ Chr. Wolff, *Mathematisches Lexicon, darinnen die in allen Theilen der Mathematik üblichen Kunst-Wörter erkläret* (Leipzig, 1716).

¹²⁶ J.H. Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universallexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste* (Halle- Leipzig, 1732 ff).

A final complementary source for comparison may be the dictionaries of the 'national' vernacular languages (French, English, Italian). The underlying idea for the extension to this category of sources is the international character of 16th and 17th-century scientific terminology and relations, whereby one can expect a newly created term in Latin to find an echo in the contemporary national 'vernaculars', and *vice versa*. This supposition is fully confirmed by a glance through these dictionaries. The incomplete inventory of the material makes it hard to determine in which language the term was originally created and in which it was afterwards borrowed. This research (to the results of which we have referred above) demonstrates that Verbiest's neologisms are roughly contemporaneous with the first appearances of the same terms in the corresponding French, English, Italian (mostly technical) vocabulary.

On the other hand, some cases could be tentatively listed here in which an expected neologism, noted in other contemporary sources, is missing, while the object in question is mentioned under an older appellation. This is the case with the name of the Astronomical Observatory of Peking, which is constantly in the centre of Verbiest's Latin astronomical treatises; although G. Galilei had already created in the 1st half of the 17th century the term *osservatorio*, which in the following decades was accepted in French and English (cf. n. 45), Verbiest never uses *observatorium*, and instead always prefers the syntagmata *specula astrop-tica* or *mathematica*, in line with his predecessors (Schall) and perhaps echoing the then current Chinese name (see *supra*, loan translations).¹²⁷ Also lacking is *atmosfera*: "atmosphere",¹²⁸ while a third example of a missed contemporary semantic evolution is seen in *meteora*, which is apparently still used in its older sense of: "celestial phenomena", the 17th-century restriction to "celestial bodies" not yet being accepted.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Quite frankly, the first Latin testimonium so far known dates from ... 1686 (L, quoted by Helfer, p. 403).

¹²⁸ The Latin term *atmosfera* is first attested in 1647, in Gassendi's *Institutio Astronomica*(....), I, 51, but was created in English in 1638 (Wilkins). While it was here related to the "globe d'air vaporeux dont un astre est enveloppé tout autour" (FEW XXV, 671-672), its first application on the earth's atmosphere is only found in 1678, in the French *atmosphère*(but Trésor, 3, 796: 1665), contemporary with It. *atmosfera*, used since D. Bartoli (†1685).

¹²⁹ The first examples of this specialization are noticed in English in 1593 (NED); in Italian it appears first in F. Corsini (2nd half of the 17th century), in French only at the end of that century (Furetière: 1690)

In the field of instrument building, the absence of both *telescopium* and *hygroskopium* (-metrum) amazes, as the former is already quoted in the 16th century (Helfer, 548) and the latter attested in French as early as 1665 and 1670 (Trésor, 9, 1016);¹³⁰ in our corpus, the former instrument is mentioned in passing as *tubus opticus* or anonymously (AE, p. 95), while in the case of the hygroscope (-metre) the obsolete †*xirometricum* is once used (M, fig. 99). A final obvious absence concerns the term *lens*, -ntis: "lense, objective",¹³¹ for which Verbiest uses the generic term *vitrum*. If the *argumentum silentii* in these cases has any real value, and the absence of these terms or meanings — truly astonishing in the case of *telescopium* — is not the result of a misleading coincidence, it may be interpreted as the effect of a certain terminological 'delay, as the first testimonia of most of these terms date from the 1660s and 1670s, i.e. shortly after Verbiest had left Europe. This would constitute an interesting conclusion, but the matter still requires the verification of further historic research.

2. Orthography.

The most striking deviations from the usual classical orthography in the AE are: -e- for -ae- (*pene* on p. 13; 54; 79; 85; *septum* on p. 54; 68; *geodesia* on p. 55); the reverse (and false) spelling -ae- for -e- (*fraeno*: 82); -ae- for -oe- (*paena* on p. 6; 19; 23; 57; *amaenus* on p. 5; 55; 58; 98; *aestro* on p. 18); -y- (occasionally) for -i- in non-Greek terms: *Synicus* (p. 4); *hyemis* (p. 22); *hybernum* (p. 41); *hyberno* (48), but also in Greek terms: *syphon* (p. 83) versus *sipho* elsewhere; -c- for -t- only in nuntius and its derivations (*annunciant*: p. 33; 67; *nuncia*: p. 67; 82; *annunciandis*: p. 83; 92; 93; *annuncianda*: p. 93). None of these 'aberrations' are unusual in the orthography of humanistic editions. That they reflect Verbiest's own spelling can occasionally be proven for those parts of the text of which we possess the original xylograph in his own hand: this indisputably shows that such spellings as *pene* (p. 54), *septa* (p. 54), *geodesia* (p. 56), *amaeniores* (p. 58), *hybernum* (p. 41), *hyberno* (p. 48) represent Verbiest's own orthography. The same can be

¹³⁰ See also the first English testimonia, which date from 1665 and 1670, respectively (NED, s.v.), and Italian, dating from 1681 (*igroscopio*, -metro).

¹³¹ Italian *lente* is already testified in G. Galileo (early 17th cent.: *Grande Diz. Ling. Ital.*); the first Latin testimonium known to me is referred by Helfer, p. 350 s.v. *Linse* to G. Schottus (1662), certainly one of Verbiest's sources! In English, *lens* is attested since 1693 (NED).

demonstrated for common 17th-century spellings like *imo* (passim); *imposterum* (p. 75); *pedissequus* (Praef.); *nequidquam* (p. 18; 73); *seorsim* (p. 20); *sexcentos* (p. 73); -x- for -xs- in compounds such as *exurgens* (p. 18), *expirant* (p. 19), *extincta* (p. 22) etc.; *utrinque* (p. 48; 50); *duntaxat* (p. 59 and passim). Most of these forms are also found scattered through Verbiest's autograph letters, with the exception of the latter two which are commonly spelled by the author himself as *utrimque*, *dumtaxat*.

Furthermore, there is a series of occasional spellings that deserve no attention as they represent mere printing errors, as sometimes can even be shown: apart from the examples in the Praefatio, referred to in my edition on p. 151, there are the following: *expungendum* for *expungendam* (p. 19); *conciliarij* on p. 20, a 'Verschlimmbesserung' by the corrector for the original *consiliarij*, preserved in the ms. version of Verbiest's letter of 15 August 1678;¹³² *fixi* for *fixis* (p. 45), *Hadir* for *Nadir* (p. 51), *cochleis* for *trochleis* (p. 52),¹³³ *manifesto* for *manifesta* (p. 54), *difficilora* for *difficiliora* (p. 56) — the last four examples were exposed or demonstrated by comparison with the xylograph — *sequutae* for *secutae* (p. 57), *scenia* for *schema* (p. 71), *celeberimus* for *celeberrimus* (p. 73), *ac* for *at* (p. 76), *eorum* for *earum* (p. 86: sc. *stellarum*, not *instrumentorum* or the like), *rotarrm* for *rotarum* (p. 87), *harmanico* for *harmonico* (p. 91); also, the insertion of *ac* on p. 94, l. 20 is superfluous and indeed absent in the parallel text in M, fig. 101.

Another — final — series concerns some verbal endings, which are singular for plural: *offera(n)tur* (p. 25), *observa(n)t* (p. 32), *offendere(n)t* (p. 98); in these cases too a simple misprint is the most obvious interpretation, probably due to the erroneous solution of a barely legible abbreviation: *offerât*, *observât* and *offenderêt*, respectively; for that matter, in the case of *offenderent* (p. 98) we can prove that it is also the authentic spelling, for it appears in the prior version of this paragraph in C, p. 248, and in the autograph of the same letter (see ch. 7; introduction).

3. Morphology.

As one might expect, there are no spectacular aberrations or unusual phenomena in Verbiest's Latin morphology; the only discrepancies worthy

¹³² H. Jossion & L. Willaert, p. 245, and N. Golvers, p. 213, n. 14.

¹³³ See N. Golvers, p. 259, n. 76.

of mention are primarily of medieval origin, as the following overview will demonstrate:

3.1. In the morphology of the nouns, note the use of abl. sing. on *-e* for the class of *-i*-stems, e.g. *turris*, *basis* and *imber*: *turre* (M; AE, p. 24; 41; 84; 92), *base* (AE, p. 76), *imbre* (AE, p. 73), respectively, as opposed to the acc. *basim* (AE, p. 52; 76) and *turrim* (AE, p. 80). The gen. plur. of the 5th declension on *-erum* probably appears once in M, f. 14, in the corrupt †*superficierum*. As for the gender of the nouns, a certain hesitation is noticeable in the gender of *dies*: see AE, p. 44: “*die tertio*” and *ibid.* “*die tertia*”.

Greek loan words follow partly the Latin, partly the Greek declension: compare *basim* (AE, p. 52), *Euclidis* (AE, p. 55), and *mathematicae* versus the nom. sing.(!) *Uranie* in AE, p. 56, the gen. sing. *mathematices* on p. 57, *matheseos* in AE, p. 55 and *metamorphoseos* in M, fig. 102 respectively.

3.2. In the field of adjectives, there is the systematic use of the abl. sing. on *-i* instead of *-e* in the flexion of the comparatives, very common in medieval texts.¹³⁴ The abl. sing. of the part. praes., however, ends indiscriminately on *-i* and *-e*, without any discernible distributive system: cf. *ex occasione incidenti* (AE, p. 77) and *ex incidente occasione* (AE, p. 68); see, on the other hand, such fixed formulas as *die sequenti* (passim), and the predominant use of *-e* within the *ablativus absolutus* syntagmata.

3.3. Among the numerals, note the systematic substitution of the cardinals *duo*, *tres* by their distributive counterparts *bini* and *trini* (not *terni*), respectively, following a tendency already present in the poetic sources of the classical period; the systematic use of *trigesies* (M, fig. 66; AE, p. 75), ‘thirty times’, for classical *trigies* (*tricies*) has its origin either in medieval authors (see L) or in a simple analogy with *vige-sies*: *vig-inti* — *vig-esies* > *trig-inta* — *trig-esies*. Note also the unusual *quater mille* (AE, p. 18; 46) for *quatuor milia*.

3.4. Nothing special is to be noted concerning the declension of the pronouns. Probably the most striking fact in this respect is the pleonastic

¹³⁴ See K. Isacson, p. 285.

use of *ille*, which comes very near to a true definite article. Also pleonastically used is the reflexive pronoun *suus*; in three passages (AE p. 26, 33, 70) this reflexive character is apparently absent, but these 'exceptions' are not wholly against classical rules, as *suus* could at an already early stage apply to the object, in the meaning of 'belonging to':¹³⁵ 'qui publicis operibus....locum et tempus suum praescribunt' (AE, p. 30): "who are prescribing for the public works...the appropriate place and time".

3.4. As for prepositions, I mention only a sporadic use of *absque*, in the expression *absque comparatione* (M, fig. 66) for the usual classic *sine comparatione* quoted in the same paragraph, and especially the systematic and very frequent use of *iuxta* in the sense of 'according to' instead of the classical *secundum*.

3.5. Finally, in conjugations only one phenomenon is worth notice, viz. the regular composition of the passive perfect tenses by means of the participle perfect plus the perfect tenses of the auxiliary verb *esse*: *rejecta fuisset* (AE, p. 12), *fuertint munita* (AE, p. 23), *praefectus fui* (p. 46), *usus fueram* (p. 47), *decepti fuerint* (p. 78), instead of *rejecta esset*, etc. This phenomenon is also well known since medieval Latin.

4. Syntax.

4.1. Case. The only phenomenon worth mentioning in this respect is the systematic use of the ablative to indicate the measure following such adjectives as *altus* (AE, p. 41), *latus* (AE, 41), *longus* (AE, p. 64), *crassus* (AE, p. 65), etc., in apparent contravention of the classical use of the accusative, but in accordance with Late Latin:¹³⁶ "Columna...alta 8 pedibus geometricis".

4.2. In one case, the adverb is perhaps used syntactically as an adjective, as became increasingly frequent in late-Latin¹³⁷: AE, p. 85: "...ut ascendente incubo et antisacomate descendente, *transversim* ille axis circumactus intra 24 horas indicem...circumageret" (cf. *ibid.*, l. 28: "...axi transverso").

¹³⁵ J. B. Hofmann - A. Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik* (München, 1965), p. 175 (§103), and J. Svennung, p. 314.

¹³⁶ See R. Kuehner - C. Stegmann, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*, vol. 2.1. (Hannover, 1914), p. 283 - 284 (§71, Anm. 7).

¹³⁷ J. Svennung, p. 495.

4.3. In several cases, the ablative of the gerund comes very close to the sense of a part. praes.: see *inclinando* — *reclinando* (AE, p. 52); *torneando* (p. 67); *renitendo* (p. 79); *modulando* (p. 90), also reflecting a well known phenomenon in Late and Middle Latin.¹³⁸ In another important matter, viz. that of the gerund with object, Verbiest perfectly reflects the classical model, replacing the gerund by the gerundive in all cases, except in (most of) the passages with the gerund genitive (exception in AE, p. 6 and 57).

4.4. More interesting are three features relating to the gerundive. First, the predicative use of the gerundive in relation to the object (the well known classical type: 'sepulchrum faciendum curavit') is represented very often in our corpus after several verbs which did not have this construction in classical times:¹³⁹ indeed, apart from *curare*, *exponere*, *mandare*, *mittere*, *petere*, *relinquere*, *suscipere* and *traditur*, which already in classical times displayed this construction, Verbiest extends it to *committere* (AE, p. 19; 80), *excipere* (AE, p. 32), *imponere* (AE, p. 46), *postulare* (AE, p. 62), *praedicere* (AE, p. 6), *praeparatur* (AE, p. 87), *proponere* (AE, p. 84; M, fig. 2), *putare* (AE, p. 84); this extension is in line with a tendency already productive in Late Latin authors.¹⁴⁰ A second feature concerns the nine gerundives in an attributive use without a classical precedent: see AE, Preface, p. 5, 7, 10, 25, 30, 44, 81, and twice in M, fig. 66: "ob causas mox indicandas" (AE, p. 81). Thirdly, in at least one of the latter examples, the gerundive clearly has the sense of a pass. part. fut., any notion of obligation being absent: see AE, p. 30: "Supremum Tribunal Rituum ipsum futurae eclipsis diem...necnon digitos *eclipsandos* in libello suo Imperatori obtulit...", i.e. "...the number of digits that would be obscured". This too represents a Late Latin development.¹⁴¹

4.5. Concerning subordinate clauses, only a few insignificant features could be noted, each with clear Late Latin connections. Such is the case with the occasional use of *ut* after *opus est* and *necesse est* (AE, p. 87

¹³⁸ See J. Svennung, p. 425; J.B. Hofmann — A. Szantyr, p. 144; 379-380; K. Isacson, p. 187.

¹³⁹ J.B. Hofmann - A. Szantyr, §202.

¹⁴⁰ J.B. Hofmann - A. Szantyr, p. 371-372.

¹⁴¹ Cf. J. Svennung, p. 426; M. Lavarenne, "Sur le sens futur du participe en -ndus", *Latomus* 18 (1959), p. 396 and J. B. Hofmann - A. Szantyr, p. 374 (§202, Zus. α).

and 73 respectively), as became common in Late Latin.¹⁴² The occasional substitution of the indicative for the subjunctive in indirect interrogative clauses, such as in AE, p. 83: "...monstrabat quaenam erat hora",¹⁴³ could be interpreted in the same way. Furthermore, there are some irregularities concerning the conjunction *dum*, such as its use in the sense of "while" followed by the subj. imperfect: see AE, p. 78 and 87: "Jam a tribus annis, dum aeolopilae vires examinarem, curriculum bipedalis longitudinis conficiendum curavi".¹⁴⁴ In AE, p. 54 and M, fig. 59 the same conjunction is unexpectedly followed by the indicative plusquam-perf., apparently in the sense of "after", both times with a clear iterative character; for this construction, I could find only one uncertain parallel in Ammianus Marcellinus. Finally, I have noted at least one case where the sense of *sive* is very near to "et", and for which medieval parallels are attested:¹⁴⁵ see AE, p. 30: "Ego quidem pluribus ante diebus cujusvis eclipsis typum sive imaginem adumbratam...mittere soleo", to be compared with p. 31: "...ejusmodi typo eclipsis jam instantis & (!) imagine adumbrata oculos pascunt"; a less certain example is in AE, p. 74. Other features, including the 'special' rules of the *consecutio temporum* in a consecutive subordinate clause, the use of *vereri* with *ut* (AE, p. 64), and *non dubitare* with inf. (AE, p. 24), etc., all have more or less common classical precedents.

5. Conclusion.

This research in the field of syntax (parts of speech; subordinate clauses) has demonstrated that here the influences of post-classical and Late Latin on Verbiest's Latin idiom are minor; this may be taken as proof of a profound classicizing influence, due to his Jesuit education and the Jesuit context in which he always worked. The 'innovations' within this corpus with respect to the classical standard are mainly situated in the area of terminology, with 186 'neologisms', especially in the technical sphere; here, the 'innovations' are of course introduced in connection with some technological or scientific invention and by their nature fall outside any 'classicizing' influence; on the other hand, the latter probably

¹⁴² Cf. J.B. Hofmann - A. Szantyr, p. 645.

¹⁴³ See also K. Isacson, p. 188.

¹⁴⁴ See R. Kuehner - C. Stegmann, vol. 2.2, §210, who classifies this construction as 'nachklassisch'.

¹⁴⁵ See J. Svennung, p. 495.

remains responsible for the low number of neologisms in the 'general' vocabulary. It is important to note that, among these neologisms, about 30% — most of them technical terms represented in several European traditions — are of medieval origin, proving the persistence of a certain medieval technological terminology until the 16th and 17th century. On the other hand, the post-medieval neologisms (at most 70%) were either taken by the author from his sources or inspired by the context in which he was working: the former is as yet proven only for a small group of terms, the latter becomes increasingly probable since it could often be demonstrated that their appearance in our corpus is contemporaneous with the first appearance of the same term in the most important modern vernaculars of Europe (English; French; Italian). In any event, all the lamentations of Verbiest, formulated in a recently discovered Latin letter of 1676 to Tsar Alexei Mikhaïlovitc,¹⁴⁶ about his diminishing command of the '*aurea lingua*' — after the model of Ovid among the Getae — appear groundless from the strictly linguistic point of view. Nevertheless, these words may reflect more than just the overall influence of a popular poetical topos,¹⁴⁷ and they probably ventilate the author's awareness of his sometimes sloppy style, in competition with occasional traces of literary embellishment. Therefore, the former may probably be due more to his extreme lack of time, on which he often complains, than to a really decreasing mastery of the idiom he employed right up to the end of his life in so many letters and reports to Europe.

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¹⁴⁶ The passage reads as follows: "post 20 et amplius annos tamquam exul et aureae linguae oblitus, cum poeta exule paucis mutatis possum dicere 'Tartaream didici Barbari-camque loqui'" (referring to Ovid., Ep. ex Ponto, III 2, 40). This letter will be published in the planned supplement to Verbiest's correspondence, containing 58 new items, which I am preparing for 1996.

¹⁴⁷ See, concerning this topos, the contribution of K. Smolak, 'Der verbannte Dichter. Identifizierungen mit Ovid in Mittelalter und Neuzeit', *Wiener Studien*, Neue Folge 14 (1980), 158–191, to which the 'case Verbiest' may be added now.

The medieval neologisms in Verbiest's corpus (attested before ca. 1400 / 15th century).

1. alidada
applanare
aqueus
armilla
5. armillaris
astrolabium G.
bifurcatus
chalybeus
character G.
10. circumvolutio
claviculus
coincidere
collimare
conicus
15. cornix
correspondere
curia
curriculus
eclipsis G.
20. eclypsare G.
eclyptica G.
embolismalis
fixa
halo G.
25. incidentia
meteora G.
met(h)eoricus G.
meteorologicus G.
milio
30. nadir
optica G.
perpendiculariter
planisphaerium
polaris
35. polygonus G.
portatilis

- practice G.
- practicus (subst.; adj.) G.
- praeludium
- 40. praxis G.
- prorex
- prototypum G.
- pyramidalis
- quadrans
- 45. realis
- refluxus
- semidiameter
- speculative
- theorice G.
- 50. transversalis
- trigesies
- uranicus G.
- vernix
- 54. vi(ti)s

Alexandra MALLÁ

“ECCLESIA IN EXILIO TRIUMPHANS”.
DRAMA LEZUTSCHOVIAE A. 1673 ACTUM.
(EDITIO TEXTUS)

Fabula *Ecclesia in exilio triumphans*¹ ad usum scholae scripta anno 1673 die 21. mensis Maii, qui erat Pentecostes, acta est Leutschoviae (Slovace Levoča), in civitate libera regia, in quam professores discipuli-que Collegii statuum evangelicorum superioris Hungariae post diem 8. mensis Martii eodem anno Eperiesio (Slovace Prešov) pulsi confugerunt. Fabula numquam adhuc typis impressa est nec aliud exemplar textus eius inventum est praeter unum chirographum, quod hodie in Tabulario litterarum artiumque Slovacarum in Matica slovenská, quod Sancti Martini est, in codice MJ 597 signato habetur. Codex et alias fabulas² in Collegio Eperiensensi ab anno 1668 usque ad annum 1673 actas continet. In titulo unius earum, quae *Eleazar Constans* nuncupatur, Elia Ladi-vero auctore fol. 206, 7 legitur: “Interfui huic actui missus a nobilissimo senatu Bartfensi ad examen publicum annuum”. Ex quo aequae atque ex eo, quod omnes paene fabulae una manu scriptae formis humanioris aevi characterorum cursivorum sunt, deduci potest fabulas eodem tempore actas et memoriae proditas esse.

In edendo textu apographo a professore Iohanne Vilikovský facto, qui fabulas, quas maioris momenti esse existimavit, divulgandas curare frustra conatus est, niti potui. A lectione apographi cum codice manuscripto collato duobus solum locis differo: fol. 22, 22 “Nil nil nitum rebus in orbis” in “Nil nitendum rebus in orbis” et fol. 23 v, 9 “sacrato dicta festa” in “sacrato dicata festa” emendavi. In transcribendo chirographi orthographiam sequi contendi, interpunctio autem et usus magnarum ac parvarum litterarum in normam orthographiae hodiernae rediguntur.

¹ Cf. A. Mallá, “Ecclesia in exilio triumphans, ein lateinisches Schulspiel aus de Prešover Kollegium”, *Graecolatina et Orientalia* XIX-XX, (Bratislava 1987-1988), 13-32.

² Index fabularum, quae in codice continentur in op. cit., p. 26-27 invenitur.

f. 20

**Ecclesia in Exilio
Triumphans**

Spem inter ac metum, inter dolores ac solatia,
lamenta et juba, diem (: Pentecostes vel alium :)
celebrans, post majorem aeterni Numinis et
Flaminis gloriam in piam ac devotam recordacionem
Domini NN.S.P.
et gratiam ac honorem Domini NN.C.S.
Anno quo

[.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....]

f. 20v

Prologus

ascensio
chori

Quousque Marspiter tonabit insolens,
quousque Bistonio cruentus classico
terrebit orbem Christianum? Quo furor
quove ibit atrox hostium indignatio?
Semperne tristi vulnerabit pectora
rumore Fama? Semper horror ingruet?
Sat jam minaci terruit parma ferus
victos penates hostis belligerantibus
Mavorte turmis, luctuosa sufficit
clades piorum, vulnus atque Ecclesiae,
jactura Parnassi, atque casus exedrae.
Jam purpuratum Numen ante sanguine
Lethoque victum vincit atque coelicos
ducit triumphos, hostium premit caput
Erebumque frangit, jam Poli Capitolia
augusta scandit, Pneuma legans inclytum.
Prodi, quid haeres, moesta, prodi, Ecclesia!

21

Et pulsa Pallas, quid lates? Prodi, Themis!
 Apollo, prodi! Jam sacrata Flaminis
 pacatiori festa fulgent sidere,
 delapsus alto dius aethere Spiritus
 brumam pavoris solvit atque flamine ||
 refovet gelata corda moesto frigore
 plaususque pascit. Festa promite júbila,
 celebrate Numen, Numinis charismata.
 Sic laeta Pietas almaque imperat Fides.
 Patent theatra, si theatra clausa sunt,
 panditur eremus, grata ubique encomia
 pii Tonantis igneque Flaminis.
 Patete mentes, corda, prodit Cynthus.

Inductio I.

Apollo canens:

Heu luctuosa tempora!
 Heu fata luctuosa!
 O sortis atrae fulmina,
 eheu dies dolosa!
 Quonam rotamur turbine
 teloque vulneramur?
 Quid tangimur, quid angimur
 pulsique sauciamur?

21v

Vivo ergo! Vita morte me peior manet.
 Vivo, sed eheu quid juvat me vivere?
 Postquam dolosis invidentibus inferis
 fremente mundo sedibus miser excidi,
 ut excidi, sic occidi. Quo me dolor,
 quo cura raptat? Quove fluctus pectoris ||
 animique luctus? Quo furores imperi?
 Quid Aeacus tremendus urget Arbiter?
 Quo me Rhadamantheae innocentem urgent minae?
 Stellante quondam pulsus exul aethere
 afflictus errabam. Quid exulem me denuo,
 acerba tellus, arva cogis querere?
 Heu! Exulamus, ejulamus perdit!

Cantus extra theatrum:

Heu! Exulamus, ejulamus perdit!

- Apollo: Ubi sunt virentis laeta Parnassi juga?
 Ubi virores et Penates inclyti?
 Heu occupavit tecta Panicus furor,
 latent Camoenae, fracta conticuit lyra,
 aut luctuosus lugubris strepitus ciet.
- Tangit cytharam: Tacuere buxi, pro chely planctus sonat.
 Lugete, Gryphi, suave concidit decus,
 lugete, cives, vestra gloria concidit,
 et laureata Pindi flete numina.
 En ipsa lugent astra, congemunt Lares.
 O urbium decus, o amata gloria Pannonum,
 quo decidisti? Tacta Ditis turbine
 quo decidisti?
- Cantus Apollinis: Heu luctuosa etc.
 Funesta sunt, non festa nobis gaudia, ||
 infesta gignit sors dolenti taedia.
 Divum reposit Pneuma plausus jubila:
 At me reposit nox doloris nubila,
 dicabo Jovae vota: Quomodo, quomodo
 renovabo plausus, eja? Quomodo, quomodo
 cantabo lugens? Moesta vincit naenia
 planctusque plausum voce vincit lugubri.
 O sors acerba, fata tristia exulis!
 Lyrae, tacete, dum sonent quaerimoniae.
- (: Discedente illo chorus cantu: Heu! Exulamus! :)

Inductio II.

Ecclesia suo de exilio et calamitatibus queritur, Geniis duobus aggem-
 tibus et meliora sperare iubentibus.

- Genius 1.: Heu quam saevo tangimur ictu,
 quam praecipiti volvitur orbe
 sortis iniquae: nunquam constans
 Fortuna stetit, quam stabilivit
 hodie Titan, donec Olympi
 circuit axem, praecipitavit.
- Genius 2.: Quanti pulsan pectora casus!
 Quantusque dolor corda fatigat!
 Nil nitendum rebus in orbis, ||

- f. 22v
- quicquid nisu conatuque
surgit in altum, praecipitatur.
- Cantus: O casus! O dolor! O damna! O moeror!
- Genius 1.: Nunquam fida est Fortuna bonis,
favet indignis dignosque premit.
- Genius 2.: Sic nulla dies secura micat.
Lumenque parit nubila sortis,
miseranda dolet culmina Pindi.
- Genius 1.: Themis alma gemit, luget Pallas.
Ah Ecclesia queis mergitur undis,
ubi Religio victa refugit
plangensque latet lachrymansque tacet!
- Cantus: O casus! O dolor etc.
- Genius 2.: Sed quo querelae, quid juvant quaerimoniae?
Quousque moeror? Quid latens Ecclesia?
Lugebit? Evocemus, en festa evocant
dicata sacro Pneumati.
- Genius 1.: Vocemus!
- Genius 1. et 2.: Fida mater o fidelium,
prodi, sacrata dum vocitant te jubila.
- Cantus: O mater o fidelium,
ad diva festa prodi!
- Genius 1.: Audimur.
- Genius 2.: En audimur: aggemens adest.
- Ecclesia: Quis me inquietat sauciam furoribus?
quae vox fatigat obrutam doloribus? ||
- f. 23 Genius 2.: O mater alma Ecclesia,
ad jubilum vocaris.
Alma o parens fidelium,
ad festa nunc citaris.
- Ecclesia: Eheu! Acerba festa pectori anxio
tristisque plausus lugubrisque cantio,
qualis tremenda sede dum Babylonica
captiva fleui; fracta flebant barbyta
dulcesque chordae conticebant Musis:
Tali dolore victa cordis anxii
suspendo buxum: gaudia en sunt lachrymae
solatiumque pectoris suspiria.
- Cantus: O mater o fidelium etc.

- Genius 2.: O mater alma Ecclesia,
ad jubilum vocaris.
- Genius 1.: Alma o parens fidelium,
ad festa nunc citaris.
- Ecclesia: Qualis trisulco qui perictus fulmine est,
aut occidit, aut se nescit aeger vivere:
sic haereo perculsa tantis casibus
Laribusque pulsa propriis. Quae me plagae,
quae me fovebit ora, quod petam solum?
En Pannonum tellus mihi praecluditur
tutamque livor figere heu sedem vetat. ||
f. 23v Ah ibo, quo raptabit aura, quo dolor
et fata ducent, o fideles, ibimus!
- Cantus: O mater o fidelium etc.
- Genius 2.: O mater alma Ecclesia,
ad jubilum vocaris.
Alma o parens fidelium,
ad festa nunc citaris.
- Ecclesia: Ah quomodo cantabo, lugens cantabo,
recolam sacrato dicata festa Numini?
Ubi sunt Camoenae? Saevus has pepulit furor.
Ubi Camoenarum vireta? Eheu jacent,
calcata fastuoso Martis atri poplite.
Bellona laureatis saeva collibus imperat,
et pro chely funesta clangunt classica.
Ubi templa? Lugent occupata Martio
furore et ausu. Perfidos altaria
timent dynastas, impio gressu tremunt,
calcata mystae, cui patent sacraria?
Tantum profanis? Vosque manibus organa
tangi timetis impiis. Heu quo Fides
quove refugit Charitas vel quo Themis
et Pallas alma? Victa luget curia,
tacent et artes solaque impietas agit. ||
f. 24 O sors dolenda posteris,
o lachrymosa fata!
- Cantus: O sors etc.
- Genius 1.: Resume vires, flebilis o Ecclesia!
- Genius 2.: Animum resume! Quo querelae, quo dolor?

Ecclesia: Solamen in dolore, deliciae in cruce,
juvant querelae, lachrymae sunt pharmacon.
Genius 2.: Spera in Tonante, jura pristina sanciet.
Ecclesia: Sperabo, dum spirabo! Corda sauciet
totamque Numen vulneret vel enecet,
sperabo semper sauciata coelico
amore Jesu, vulnerata vulnere.
Cantus: O sors dolenda etc.
Genius 1.: Quid fata plangis? Laeta pectore concipe.
Ecclesia: Mea fata plangam, tangar, angar, non tamen
dolore frangar, jubilabo, dum gemam.
Cantus: Fata plangam, tangar, angar,
non tamen frangar.
Ecclesia: Silete, chordae, fata dum tacita queror.
Cantus: O sors dolenda etc.
et Fata plangam etc.

Inductio III.

Themis et Pallas similiter sua querentes damna lamentantur: Ecclesia
rediens vel umbram sublatis deliciis (: id est Pomarii :) videre desiderat,
f. 24v qua || apparente et disparente luctus omnium sequitur.

Pallas: Quousque saeva consonabunt classica
lituique clangent? Quid coactae fulminant
armis phalanges? Quid vibrata pollice
torquente tela? Quidve acinaces volunt,
rhomphaea et ensis? Arma nostra non furunt,
hastae quiescunt. Dira non semper placent,
Gradive, bella et iurgiorum praelia.
Postquam corusco dissiparunt brontea
fulgure noctes, conquiescunt fulmina.
Postquam minaci terruit Mavors globo,
tremendus hostis arma ponat et faces.
Quid nostra munia? Quid Camoenae, quid Lares
meruere diri? Quid verenda altaria?
Quo tendis impotens furor, quo te effera
trudit Megaera? Siste praecipitem gradum!
Themis: Et me cruentato tremenda perculit
Bellona conto, saeva postquam praelia

f. 25

miseranda tellus usque sentit Pannonum.
 Et me feroces inquietant turbines
 tumultuosi et tela tangunt Marspitris.
 Ubi prisca libertas, ubi felicitas
 vigorque legum patriaeque faustitas?
 Astraera postquam pulsa mundi crimine
 orbem reliquit et petivit aethera, ll
 heu execranda regnat heu Iniquitas,
 summis et ima miscet imis summaque.
 Ubi sceptras, leges, jus, ducum potentia?
 En occupavit Livor insolens Lares
 et exedram Themidis, negantur limina.
 Propria fugamur aede. Quid cessas, pium,
 tonare, Numen, fulminare perfidos?
 Sic vincet Impietas, triumphabit furor?
 An nulla tangit cura te nostri, Deus?
 Pallas: O quando, juste, vindicabis, Arbiter,
 artes et alma quando coeli dogmata,
 fidelis ultor? Dextra fulmine cur vacat?
 Cur pertinaces hostium vincent minae?
 Themis: O quando demes, Jova, molem pectoris
 onusque tolles, saxa quando Sisylphi?
 Jam triplicata crux meam gentem premit,
 immo opprimit! Quid heu! Severus aspicias
 nec vindicas me? Duco vix suspiria.
 Exspiro languens.
 Pallas et Themis: Numen, porrige dexteram
 vitamque redde, redde patriae decus.
 Cantus: Fata plangam etc.
 Pallas: Socia doloris en adest Ecclesia,
 lugubris exul, flebilis fidelium
 genitrix piorum.
 Themis: Lachrymosa coelitum
 o nata, salve!
 Ecclesia: Luctuosa biga, ave,
 comes doloris vulnerisque particeps!
 Solatium est, ubi mali fidus comes
 superest gementi.
 Pallas: Triste sed solatium

- querimur dolentes.
- Themis: Et gementes invicem. ||
- f. 25v Ecclesia: Plus una tangor, una plus queror omnibus.
- Pallas: Jactura publica est dolorque mutuuum omnium.
- Ecclesia: Superat unum verticis decus mei
decusque vestrum et una spes gementium,
solabar illa, spem levabam in cruce;
postquam recessit, vita cessit et vigor.
- Pallas: Quodnam levamen cessit?
- Ecclesia: Heu! Pomarius,¹
o dulce nomen, o memoria flebilis!
Pomarius recessit, heu amor pius,
amor piorum, dulce solamen meum
animaque Seelmanni,² Camoenarum parens
multisque praesidium atque delictum Dei.
- Pallas: Hunc flemus.
- Themis: Et lugemus unum jugiter.
- Cantus: O sors dolenda etc.
- Ecclesia: Utinam, utinam reducta poma Pannonia
tellure cernam!
- Themis: Quis Notus pernicibus
vel Euris alis inclytum referat virum?
Aut altero Argo pulsa vultur in impetu
Themidem fatiget, si qua lympa pervia est.
- Ecclesia: Frustra! Reliquit ille Pannonum plagas.
- Pallas: Utinam doloris umbra pharmacon tui
vel laudet orbis, anxiae solatium,
ut moesta Laodamia, quae viri necem
lugebat, umbram vidit ac obiit videns.
- Themis: Ah! Omen absit!
- Pallas: Sic amantes quid juvet,
nescimus, at vovemus, ut moeror jubet. ||
- f. 26 Umbra apparet et recedit.
- Ecclesia: An ille patuit? Anne ficta credulam
simulacra ludunt? Haereo, mens heu stupet!

¹ Samuel Pomarius, rector Collegii Eperiensis.

² M. Christianus Seelmann, pastor Leutschoviensis.

Themis: Glaucoma lumen nescio quod fascinat!
Pallas: Quae mira cerno? Quis parit phantasmata?
Ecclesia: Et gaudeo et tremo. Quod est querentibus,
 o numen, omen!

Themis: Tange leni pollice!
Pallas: Relligio sit!
Ecclesia: Quis, ah quis, edic, angelus?
Umbra: Quid me fatigant vota, quid suspiria?
 Ecquis fugaces turbo retrahit rotas
 herumque trepido Pannonum reddita solo?

Ecclesia: Amplectar!
Pallas: Abstine! Umbra tacta diffugit.
Ecclesia: Non umbra loquitur.
Themis: Ede, cur refugit Lares?
Umbra: Infesta Palladi atque divis artibus
 invida Ditis suscitavit agmina
 Megaera, rupto tristis angue vertice
 sinu reliquit impiorum tetricum,
 triste et venenum. Saevit nunc animi furor,
 enses ministrat. Fraga³ quis nescit fero
 perculsa Cauro tetricoque turbine?
 Mars imperavit dirus incitam fugam.
 Vito furores, tuta quaero limina,
 furens Enyo donec impetu occidat
 frangatque vires proprias te vindice,
 o rex polorum! Moesta fide Ecclesia
 vinces ferendo, palma ceu sub pondere
 vel pressa surget, crux virescet enthea.
 Vale! Me reposcunt fata.

Ecclesia: Quo ruis meae ll
 decus cohortis?

Themis: Siste Pegasios gradus!
Pallas: O lumen orbis patrii, o Musae jubar,
 auriga Pannoniae, clientibus parens
 illustris innubisque Phoebe siderum,
 dura, per orbem Hunniacum mica!

f. 26v

³ Urbs Eperiesium (Slovace Prešov) et Fragopolis nuncupatur.

Umbra: Recede!
 Ecclesia: Cedit.
 Pallas: Siste!
 Themis: Siste, sistito
 mentem gradumque!
 Umbra: Cede!
 Ecclesia: Contine meos,
 quisquis es, amores!
 Themis: Ah, catena stringite,
 catena amoris ac honoris inclyti,
 o lumen!
 Pallas: O columen!
 Ecclesia: O amor fidelium,
 amplectar!
 Pallas: Effugit.
 Themis: Tene!
 Pallas: Heu evanuit!
 Ecclesia: O, o amor!
 Pallas: Dulcis parens!
 Themis: Solatium!
 Ah vadit!
 Pallas: Eheu cedit!
 Ecclesia: Eheu effugit!
 O triste punctum temporis! Nox incubat,
 languore vincor.
 Pallas: Deliquium gravi
 patitur dolore.
 Themis: Sume vires!
 Ecclesia: Languedo.
 Pallas: Reddas quieti sensa!
 Themis: Quantus o dolor!
 Cantus: Fata plangam etc.

Inductio IV.

Chritus Ecclesiam consolatur, libertatem spondet; hinc Ecclesia animata
 cum Geniis, Pallade et Themide Pentecosten laudibus atque votis cele-
 brat.

Christus: Itane feroces sensa confundunt minae?

27

Ecclesia:

Christus:

f. 27v

Itane timore victa protinus cadit,
 quam Numen erigit favens, Ecclesia?
 Nondum cruentus spicula Herodes vibrat,
 Aetnaea nondum saeviunt incendia, ll
 nondum Neronis flamma pixque territat
 aut dirus ensis, quem tyrannis saevior
 vibrabat olim semper hostis Numinis.
 Sola exili tam dira sors fidos premit?
 Ubi martyres? Corona martyrum et decus
 natum cruore, purpuratum sanguine?
 Ubi mille tela, mille mortes et cruces?
 Quis sustinebit, si dolores non ferat?
 Non per virentes tendimus Paesti rosas
 Alcioni et hortos; per truces tribulas poli
 petimus vireta, morte vitam et gloriam
 pia nundinatur turba. Quo titubans fides
 luctusque verget? Percita adsis fulmine,
 Ecclesia orbis, Numen arma suggeret.
 En luctuosa rebus adsum perditis,
 spoliata libertate, cassa dogmate.
 Ubi fuisti, dum gravi premerer cruce,
 electe, ubi, dilecte? Cur severus aspicias?
 Nunquam tanta, Christe, cura tangeris?
 Electa coeli nata, quid tantum gemis,
 quid lachrymosam voce prodix naeniam?
 Quousque luctus, quo graves quaerimoniae?
 Non te reliqui, lecta mille e millibus,
 non te reliqui: sed probante dextra
 almi Parentis tanta lustrabam mala
 dolore tactus ac amore saucius.
 Quid moesta luges, Pannonum o Ecclesia, ll
 dilecta Jovae? Dum premit, tollit Deus.
 Annon cruentas pertuli pro te manus,
 colaphos, catastes, arma, fames, verbera
 clavosque, lanceam ac acerba funera?
 Te minima tangunt atque dejiciunt mala.
 Non per voluptam, per dolores, per crucem
 quaerenda virtus atque coeli gloria,
 enata tribulis sarta coelites gerunt.

- Cantus: O laeta permutatio,
quae dissipat dolores!
- Ecclesia: Tandem revixi, o alma capitis gloria
coelique splendor atque delictum mei
perenne cordis. O amande millies,
dilecte Jesu! Nunc feri, nunc vulnera
secaque et ure, crux mihi solatium!
- Christus: Devince tandem mentis anxia tormina,
irata temne sortis atrae fulmina,
victorioso laeta sub labaro crucis
vinces triumpho nobilis fidelium.
Nunc poscit alium Pnuma laudum munia
festosque plausus. Ito, coge turbulas
metu fugaces!
- Ecclesia: Ah mane!
- Christus: Pnuma evoca!
- Ecclesia: O laeta permutatio,
quae dissipat dolores,
o festa jubilatio,
o Numinis favores! ||
f. 28 Jesu sidere pulchrior,
tecum vivere amem,
tecum obeam libens.
- Cantus: O laeta permutatio etc. 4 lineae.
- Ecclesia: Adeste tandem, trepida nuper pectora!
- Genius 1.: Adeste, fida celsi corda Numinis!
- Genius 2.: Adeste, festa dum citant.
- Themis: Io citamur!
- Pallas: Io vocamur!
- Themis: O dies,
o lux dierum, gaudii compendium!
- Pallas: Pulso furore tuta nascitur quies.
- Ecclesia: Gaudete sociae! En astra mentem corrigunt.
- Genius 2.: Dicata sacro colite festa Numini!
- Genius 1.: Plausus ciete et in dolore plaudite!
- Themis et Pallas: En adsumus, celebramus almo Pneumati
dicata festa jubillumque prodimus.
- Pallas: Io dolores, cedite!
- Themis: Io recedite,

dum flamma placida pectus urit coelitus
 gignitque amores coelitumque gaudia.
 O purpurato misse coelo Spiritus,
 quam nostra tangis corda levi flamine,
 recreas calore emortua gelu pectora!
 Genius 1.: Io triumphum!
 Genius 2.: Io triumphum dicite!
 Themis et Pallas: Io triumphum, io triumphum dicimus!
 Cantus: Io triumphum, io triumphum dicimus!
 Ecclesia: Iterate plausus atque cordis jubila!
 Genius 1, et 2.: Io triumphum, io triumphum dicite!
 Pallas: Io triumphum!
 Pallas, Themis: Io triumphum dicimus!
 Mars: prius classicum canet vel strepitum edet. ||
 f. 28v Pallas: Dolor in triumpho? Quid quietum perculit?
 Genius 1.: Inanis horror, fulmina ex pelvi crepant.
 Cantate laudes!
 Pallas, Themis, Ecclesia: O poli victoria!
 Mars: Hala, hala, hala!
 Pallas: Oho redit furor!
 Mars: Tregbri, fegni!
 Themis: Perimus!
 Ecclesia: Eheu perdimur!
 Mars: Ebrehe giti sana siti!
 Pallas: Spes occidit.
 Mars: Ruite, perite, sortis o ludibria!
 Quid vana pacis somniatis secula?
 Themis: O terra!
 Pallas: O astra!
 Ecclesia: Numen, eripe perditos!
 Mars: Non sic abibunt festa, non sic gaudia.
 Fata insonabunt, nostra vincent classica
 turmaeque et enses et phalanges efferae
 tremendaque hasta. Flante vanae quid strepunt
 Mavorte Musae, quid struit Themis exedram,
 calcata Relligio quid extollit caput?
 Noster triumphus! Cedite, o ludibria!
 Ecclesia: Succurre, Numen!
 Mars: Agite vires ad neces!

- Christus: Adsum. Quis horror?
 Mars consternabitur: Occidi!
 Christus: Adsum, perfidi
 vindicta Martis.
- Mars: Occidi, eheu occidi!
 Cantus: Io triumphum, io triumphum dicimus!
 Genius 1.: Sic ergo desperata spes triumphat et
 statuit colossos.
- Genius 2.: Cessit eja tetrica
 pestis piorum, laeta spargite symbola,
 in vota conspire, vota jungite!
- Ecclesia, Themis, Pallas:
 In vota conspiramus.
- Pallas: Aura Numinis
 lenis aura pectoris sinum fove,
 veni!
- Themis: Veni!
 Ecclesia: Veni!
 Genius 1. et 2.: Veni! ||
- f. 29 Ecclesia, Themis, Pallas: O suave lumen mentium!
 Cantus: Veni, veni, veni, veni.
 o suave lumen mentium!
- Themis: Dispelle noctes tetricas mortalium!
 Pallas: Accende lumen et jubar, poli o amor!
 Genius 1.: Veni!
 Genius 2.: Veni!
- Ecclesia, Pallas, Themis: O dulce cordis gaudium!
 Cantus: Veni, veni, veni, veni,
 o dulce cordis gaudium!
- Themis: O alme Spiritus, veni
 autorque gaudiorum!
- Pallas: O sancte Spiritus, veni
 motorque jubilorum!
- Idem cantant Ecclesia, Themis, Pallas, Genius 1. et 2.
 Item: Veni, veni, veni, veni,
 o suave lumen mentium!
 Veni, veni, veni, veni,
 o dulce cordis gaudium!

Inductio V.

Diana sacro plausui aemula comites ad vernale gaudium invitat, pro quibus dispersis duo prodeunt Satyri voce, per partem instrumentali musica laetitiam vernalem declarantes, quibus Echo adsonat. ||

- f. 29v Diana: Quis ille plausus atque mundi jubila?
Ecquis tumultus urbe et orbi personans
mentem inquietat provocatque ad gaudia?
Num Marte pulso laeta pax ebuccinat
pacata gentibus meare secula?
An Paphia taedas primulo accendit thoro
Hymenaeus atque plaudit, exultant chori?
Quicunque terrae plausus et poli sonat,
et me sonora provocant melismata
verisque frondes et poli serenitas.
Non semper Oete, Tmolus, Aemus ac Athos,
Etyx vel Othrys, Caucasique culmina
Rhodopesque saltus, tela non semper placent
aperque Marsus, quem premant teretes plagae.
Tandem quiete confovenda pectora,
vires parandae recreandaeque otio,
adeste fidae Cynthiae comites! Ubi,
ubi latetis? Eja adeste fervidae!
Vernale sidus emicat
plaususque tellus imperat.
- Cantus: Vernale sidus emicat
plaususque tellus imperat.
- Diana: Non audior! Dispersa turba, quid lates?
Satyri parete, gaudiorum nuncii! ||
- f. 30 Satyri duo procedunt ludentes: deinde cantabunt et declamabunt:
Satyrus 1.: Io poli favores,
io soli virores,
o purpurata Flora,
o candidata veris
amoena sparge lilia
et mille sparge flores,
calthasque jacta cum rosis
conjunge mille odores!
- Echo: Mille odores!

- Satyrus 2.: Virete lauri Daphnicae
laeti virete colles,
comae vigete Phoebicae,
artus amate molles!
Eja consonate luci,
adsonate cantibus,
eja jubilate Tempe
et favete plausibus!
- Echo: Ausibus.
Diana: O socia biga jubilorum! Perplaces.
Festiva signa promitto!
- Satyrus 2.: Et nos amoena provocat felicitas
et nos vocamur, invitamur ad jocos.
Ad jocos. ||
- f. 30v Satyrus 1.: Sat jam gelatae saevierunt flamina
Arctoa brumae, sat furentis Africi
Caurique turbo perculit Tempe impetu
ruens feroci. Nec Notus semper fremit
Boreaeque flatus impetat cacumina.
Alterna currunt sole verso tempora.
Echo: Tempora.
Satyrus 1.: Aestate pulsa dives autumnus redit,
cedente bruma ver redit suavius.
- Echo: Avius.
Satyrus 2.: Sat ominosa saevierunt sidera,
sat luctuosos orbe vidimus dies,
dum nubilosa nox premebat aethera
Titanque vultus atque condidit jubar,
dum fama terras atque sylvas terruit.
- Echo: Ruit.
Diana: Inversa fata sunt nova catastrophe!
Cantus Satyrorum pars prior: Io poli etc.
- Echo: Mille odores.
Satyrus 1.: At nunc virenti vere pax redit solo.
Satyrus 2.: Vernante coelo terra vernat sylvaque.
Satyrus 1.: Jam nube pulsa sol micat serenior.
Satyrus 2.: Tempeque redeat, lucus est amoenior ||
f. 31 Cynthique saltus.
- Echo: Altus.

| | | |
|--|--|----------|
| Satyrus 2.: | Undique sonant susurri, concinunt et alites. | |
| Echo: | | Lites. |
| Satyrus 1.: | Saliunt Napaeae. | |
| Echo: | Evae! | |
| Satyrus 2.: | Ludunt Camoenae. | |
| Echo: | Amoenae. | |
| Diana: | O vera veris juba! | |
| Echo: | Eris juba. | |
| Satyrus 2.: | Sylvae sonate! | |
| Satyrus 1. et 2.: | Consonate plausibus! | |
| Echo: | | Ausibus. |
| Satyrus 1.: | Io! Decora sparge Flora lilia festique purga nomina! | |
| Echo: | Omina. | |
| Satyrus 2.: | Certate sylvae vocibus reciprocis, Majo virente plaudite! | |
| Echo: | Audite! | |
| Diana: | Audite, plaudunt, Musicis Echo adsonat. | |
| Echo: | | Sonat. |
| Diana: | Sonate, cuncta perstrept! | |
| Echo: | Strept! | |
| Cantus Satyrorum pars posterior: Virete lauri etc. | | |
| Echo: | | Ausibus. |
| Diana: | Uterque dignus laude. | |
| Satyrus 1.: | Nonne laurea? | |
| Echo: | | Aurea. |
| Satyrus 1.: | Audisne: dignus laurea. | |
| Echo: | Rea. | |
| Diana: | Revocabit Echo. | |
| Satyrus 1.: | Nonne dixit aurea? | |
| Echo: | | Ea. |
| f. 31v Satyrus 2.: | Ea, pandit, eja laurea. | |
| Diana: | Haud penetro, roga. | |
| Satyrus 1.: | Dic, anne laurea aurea? | |
| Echo: | A. | |
| Diana: | In a, sit herba, cingo flore tempora. | |
| Echo: | | Ora. |
| Satyrus 1.: | Io Camoenae, nunc Apollo sum novus. | |

Satyrus 2.: Adhucne restant praemia?

Diana: Ciebo, si fas, musicam.

Rotate saltus!

Diana ludet vel si poterit, cantet. Saltus satyrorum ad invicem capita collidentium.

Diana: Jam sat voluptae, me vocant plagae.

Echo: Age!

Cantus: Vernale sidus etc.

Epilogus

Sic luctuosa clauditur tragoedia,
vertente coelo fata, non triste exitu.
Vidistis umbram Marte pulsae Ecclesiae
et exulantem propria aede Palladem
Themidisque damna vindicanda coelitus,
audistis aegri pectoris suspiria,
lamenta Phoebi, luctuosos inclyti
questus remoti (: proch dolor! :) Pomarii.
Quis tanta fando damna patriae explicat?
Quis fata Religionis ac Apollinis
Themidisque digne defleat? Luget solum, ll
lachrymatur aether, coelici lugent chori.
Ast in dolore nascitur solatium!
Achillis ille more nos qui vulnerat,
coeli Machaon sanat ipso vulnere.⁴
Non ille cedit, dum recedit tetricum
simulans furorem, caesa diligit amplius
curatque corda. Leutsha, testis inclyta,
quae tot furentis vicit orbis fulmina
et tela Ditis; tuta scandit liberos
templi Penates, Pierum tuta exedram.
O Leutsha felix, o amata Numini,
quam fida missi cura sanat Pneumatis
et curat excellentis alma Davidis
medicina duplex, consili atque pharmaci
magnusque Seelmann sanat arte coelica!

f. 32

⁴ Achilles Telephum Herculis filium hasta vulneravit, dein curavit. Cf. Hyg., *Fab.* 101.

I porro felix, vince tetricam luem,
celebrans Tonantis flamen et leonibus
tutis triumphā, in duplici vincas cruce.
Sic tuta Pallas et Themis et Ecclesia
David colossos atque Seelmann erigant. ||

f. 32v

Personae

1. Prologus
2. Apollo
3. Genius 1.
4. Genius 2.
5. Ecclesia
6. Themis
7. Pallas
8. Umbra
9. Christus
10. Diana
11. Satyrus 1.
12. Satyrus 2.
13. Echo
14. Mars
15. Epilogus

(: NB. Satyri ultimas voces, quas Echo reddere debet, possunt cantu edere etc. ad libitum :)

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INSTRUMENTUM BIBLIOGRAPHICUM
NEOLATINUM

apparaverunt

J. IJsewijn, D. Sacré, G. Tournoy, M. de Schepper

Appellatio ad auctores.

Auctores librorum et commentationum de rebus neolatinis enixe rogamus ut nuntium de novis opusculis nobis mittant (in Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae, Blijde-Inkomststraat 21, B-3000 Leuven, Belgium), quo citius in hoc instrumentum possint referri.

Haec bibliographia absoluta est Kalendis Augustis anni 1995.

SIGLA:

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|-------------|---|
| <i>ACNH</i> | = <i>Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Hafniensis. Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies. Copenhagen 12 August to 17 August 1991.</i> General Editor: Rhoda Schnur. Edited by Ann Moss, Philip Dust, Paul Gerhard Schmidt, Jacques Chomarat and Francesco Tateo, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 120 (Binghamton, N. Y., 1994). |
| <i>AHSI</i> | = <i>Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu</i> (Roma) |
| <i>ARG</i> | = <i>Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte</i> (Gütersloh) |
| <i>BHR</i> | = <i>Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance</i> (Genève). |
| <i>GSLI</i> | = <i>Giornale storico della letteratura italiana</i> (Torino) |
| <i>HL</i> | = <i>Humanistica Lovaniensia</i> (Leuven) |
| <i>IMU</i> | = <i>Italia medioevale e umanistica</i> (Milano) |
| <i>JIRS</i> | = <i>Journal of the Institute of Romance Studies</i> (London) |
| <i>JMRS</i> | = <i>The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies</i> (Durham, N.C.) |
| <i>JWCI</i> | = <i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i> (London) |
| <i>RIN</i> | = <i>Rinascimento</i> (Firenze) |
| <i>RnR</i> | = <i>Roma nel Rinascimento</i> (Roma) |
| <i>RPL</i> | = <i>Respublica Litterarum</i> (Lawrence, Kansas) |
| <i>RQ</i> | = <i>Renaissance Quarterly</i> (New York) |
| <i>RS</i> | = <i>Renaissance Studies. Journal of the Society for Renaissance Studies</i> (Oxford) |
| <i>SCJ</i> | = <i>Sixteenth Century Journal</i> (U of Missouri, Columbia) |
| <i>WBN</i> | = <i>Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten</i> (Wiesbaden) |
| <i>WRM</i> | = <i>Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen</i> (Wiesbaden) |

ABBREVIATIONES:

- Columbeis V:* *Columbeis V. Relazioni di viaggio e conoscenza del mondo fra medioevo e umanesimo. Atti del V Convegno internazionale di studi dell'Associazione per il Medioevo e l'Umanesimo Latini (AMUL), Genova, 12-15 dicembre 1991.* A cura di S. Pittaluga, Pubblicazioni del Dip. di Archeol., Filol. Class. e loro tradizioni, N.S. 150 (Genova, Università, 1993).
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"Eversa Roma, imperium terrae Troiam repetet: Oriens rursus dominabi-
tur, serviet Occidens"; 97: laederet / laedere; 111: fum / cum (aut: dum?);
133: totantis / Tonantis; post v. 174 interpungas: audacia summa. Stat;
176: dolique/ dolisquein v. 245: "sulfureos bombos" significat "bombar-
das"; 255 perperam versus est: potius intellige "fino agli astri"; ceterum

- 'quo' = 'alterum ad antrum'; post v. 323 interpungas: 'domosque'; 346: emissua / emissus; v. 430: Andromada / Andromeda; v. 402 ita stare nequit: peccat enim et in metrum et in sensum. An et excidit versiculus?; v. 419: flenta/ fluenta; v. 436: bisseñasque / bisseñaque; 547: polulo / populo; 560: vertique / veritque; 620: corginer / corniger; 626: abducentur/ abducentur; 683: sequere/ sequare; 699: vitavi / vita; II post v. 14 dele interpunctionem; 39: satsique/ satis quae; 53: cunctorum sator/ cunctorumque sator; 65: infectum / insectum; 94: cludere / eludere; 132: unquam/nunquam; 136: imnutis / invictis (? An imnutis = imminutis?); v. 195 corruptus esse videtur (peccat in metrum); 200: urnam / urbem (?); 216: Dexterā / Dextra; 237: quisque / quisquam; 254: auscultaverunt/auscultarunt; v. 272 deleas 'aut'; 297: densisque/densique; 322: Leo / leo; 327: figans/ fugans; 334: tinxit / tinxit; 416: quoque/quotque; 422: securi / secuti; 426: fontes / sontes; 575: Rgina / Regina; 580: qui/quís; 584: qualibet/quaelibet; 586: ilare / ilares; 601: lachrymas/ lachrymis; 619: et/est (?); v. 646 corruptus esse videtur; 651: forte / sorte; 678: candendis / candentis; v. 689 falso enarratur. Ad verum sensum quod attinet vide Vergilium, G. III 266/ 272-275; 691: se / sic; 735: pervenerat/pervenerit; 778: habenas / habeas [J. IJ. - D. Sa.].
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7. Incepta

- Monica Niederer in seminario mediolatino universitatis Turicensis ad licentiae gradum adipiscendum dissertationem parat c. t. "Beiträge zur Wirkungsgeschichte der Tragödien Senecas im italienischen Humanismus: A. Mussato, A. Loschi, L. Dati."
- Adrian Nüssel (Seminar für Klassische Philologie der Universität Heidelberg) parat dissertationem doctoream de Scipionis Capycii libris duo *De Principiis Rerum*, duce G.W. Most.
- Helmut Wolf Darmstadiensis parat dissertationem doctoream de Amoribus Troili et Creseida a Francisco Kynaston (saec. XVII) Latine versis. Dissertatio paratur in Univ. Dusseldorpiensi duce U. Baumann.

8. Sub Prelo

- *Acta Selecta Octavi Conventus Academiae Latinitati Fovendae (Lovanii et Antverpiae, 2-6 Augusti MCMXCIII) quae edenda curaverunt* Iosephus IJsewijn et Theodoricus Sacré, Adiutoribus Antonio Van Houdt et Lina IJsewijn-Jacobs (Romae, in Aedibus Herder). Duobus tomis et paginis plus DCCC prodibunt exeunte anno 1995. Continent studia de L. B. Alberto, Erasmo, Vive, Thoma Moro, Lipsio, C. Hugenio, Basilio Plinio, Lessio e. a. variis linguis conscripta.

NUNTII

1. Societas Internationalis Studiis Neo-Latinis Provehendis

- a) Nonus Societatis Conventus praeside Francisco Tateo, professore Bariensi, diebus 29 mensis Augusti = 3 mensis Septembris 1994 Bari in Apulia habitus est. In annos 1994-1997 praeses electa est Brenda Hosington, profestrix Montereagalensis Canadensis. Alter a praeside erit Gilbertus Tournoy, professor Lovaniensis ; pecuniarum custos, ut antea, Christianus Heesakkers, professor Lugduno-Batavus. A secretis electus est Carolus Augustus Neuhausen, professor Bonnensis.

- b) Decimus Societatis Conventus anno 1997 diebus 4-9 mensis Augusti Abulae apud Hispanos celebrabitur. Plura qui scire velit, litteras mittat ad
- The 10th International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies will take place at Avila (Spain), August 4-9, 1997. For further information, please contact

Dr. K.A. NEUHAUSEN

| | |
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2. Diebus 7-9 mensis Novembris 1996 Lovanii studiorum in universitate (K.U.L.) colloquium instituetur de Erycio Puteano (1574-1646), Iusti Lipsii alumno et successore. Plura qui scire velit, litteras mittat ad Prof. Theodoricum Sacré in Sem. Philol. Humanist., Blijde-Inkomststraat 21, B-3000 Leuven, Belgium.

3. INTERNET

- 1) Plura reperiuntur per rete electronicum INTERNET sub siglo:
<http://www.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/nl/dep/lit/neolatin/neolatin.htm>
- 2) "The Database of Nordic Neo-Latin Literature is now accessible in the internet (www).
The database, which is the result of an inter-Nordic research project, presents detailed descriptions of Neo-Latin books and prints from or about the Nordic Countries, 1500-1800.

In collecting the material, the national bibliographies of the single countries have normally been followed, where such exist. But the descriptions in the database are based on independent examination of the books themselves, and will often present much information not available elsewhere. Apart from standard bibliographical data, such information has been included as: topics, genres, dedicatees, incipits of poetry, lists of persons mentioned, etc.

At present the following main areas have been covered: Denmark: 1536-1600. Finland: Occasional literature, 1562-1713. Iceland: 18th Century. Norway: 1519-1600. Sweden: 1523-1600. But to this has been added much miscellaneous material. In total the base contains c. 2500 documents.

The address of the database is: <http://www.uib.no/neol.html>

Lars Boje Mortensen (Bergen), Karen Skovgaard-Petersen (Bergen), Peter Zeeberg (Copenhagen), editors”.

INSTRUMENTUM LEXICOGRAPHICUM

NOVA LEXICA

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INDEX VERBORUM RECENTIORUM

Sequuntur verba, quae neque in *Thesauro Linguae Latinae* neque in *Lexico Totius Latinitatis* Forcelliniano reperiuntur. Ea autem, quae in lexicis et glossariis Mediae et Inferioris Latinitatis leguntur, stellula (*) notavimus; cruce (†) quae in solo lexico neolatino Renati Hoven relata sunt.

Vide etiam *lexicon technicum Verbiestianum*, pp. 310-316, quod hoc loco non repetitur.

*communicare = to link: p. 67

*Admiralius = admiral: p. 232

*alchymista = alchemist: p. 51

*alcimia = alchemy: p. 40

*alcimistica = alchemy: p. 51

*algalia = mixture: p. 48

*ampullosus = bombastic: p. 64

†barbarolatinus = a mediaeval scholar: p. 47

†blaese = stammeringly: p. 119

Brutigena = Roman: p. 276, 278

*bullatus = a person who had been granted his degree not by a university but by the pope or the emperor: p. 98

cacademia = "cacademy": p. 32

*canonicus = canon: p. 7

*capitaneus = governor (Polish magistrate): p. 255

*claustraliter = as usual in a convent: p. 62, 68

*comes = count: p. 230-232

*commentatiuncula = commentary (contemptuously): p. 101

confraterculus = fellow monk (derisive term): p. 67

*contoralis = bed-fellow: p. 76

Croeseus = of Croesus: p. 71

*decanus = dean: p. 7

*dictionarium = dictionary: p. 47

dimirari = "demirari": p. 145

*doctoratus = doctorate: p. 98

†dulciusculus = sweet: p. 160 in *app. crit.*

electrilegus = collecting amber: p. 268

elegantiola = dimin. of "elegantia": p. 146

*empiria (?): see p. 49, note 36.

- eteostichon = chronostichon: p. 250
- †gloriosulus = vainglorious, bragging: p. 50, 66
- *graduatus = holding an academic degree: p. 98
- Hunniacus = Hungarian: p. 379
- *incitativus = hortatory: p. 147
- *indolere = to regret: p. 66
- *instrumentalis = instrumental: p. 385.
- Iova (with long “o”!) = Jehova, God: p. 218, 373, 377, 381
- †leviusculus = rather light: p. 67
- lotiarium = a derivation of “lotium”? : p. 50
- magistellus = a petty master: p. 67
- mentulum = a little chin: p. 67
- mineralis medicina = alchemical expression; see p. 44; p. 50
- †missiva = letter: p. 145
- nitratus pulvis = gunpowder: p. 304
- *novennium = nine years: p. 53
- *paternitas = a monk’s dignity: p. 65
- *pecuniola = a small sum of money: p. 68
- perictus = hit: p. 375
- †perlectitare = to read through: p. 71
- †permurmurare = to recite: p. 56
- Pessarides = inhabitants of Piszs / Johannisburg: p. 268
- preculae horariae = breviary prayers: p. 56
- †procancellarius = vice-chancellor: p. 228
- quaestor primarius = Lord Treasurer: p. 228
- rhetorialis regula = rhetorical: p. 149
- rostratus = with a long beak: p. 67
- †rudimentarius puer = schoolchild: p. 65
- scalarius = climacteric: p. 49 (†: scalaris)
- splendescere = to be shining: p. 103
- †stigmaticus = marked, branded: p. 224
- *theologizare = to theologize: p. 90
- *Thomista = Thomist: p. 65, 67, 68
- †threnodia = mourning poem: p. 256
- *universitas = university: p. 228
- verbosulus = rather prolix: p. 67
- Villiades = inhabitants of Vilnius: p. 268

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